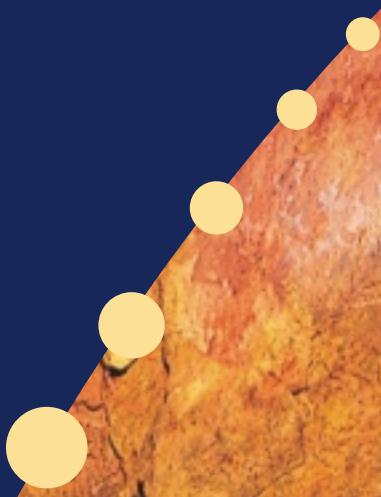


Violence in Indigenous communities



F U L L R E P O R T



A Federal Government initiative



Violence in Indigenous communities

FULL REPORT

Report to Crime Prevention Branch of the Attorney-General's Department

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In association with Aboriginal Environments Research Centre
University of Queensland

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- *After 200 years project*
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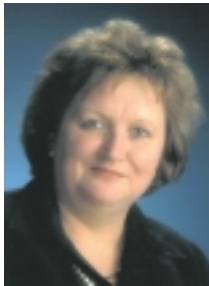
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Foreword

Foreword



Indigenous Australians are by far over represented as both victims and perpetrators in all forms of violent crime in Australia. The cost of this to their communities is horrific. Addressing such violence is not quickly nor easily solved.

This report summarises past research and consultations on issues relating to the prevention and reduction of violence in Indigenous communities. Promising approaches, and basic principles for effective intervention, are identified.

I hope it will aid those of us committed to the prevention of violence in Australia, and promote support for the efforts of many Australians, Indigenous and non Indigenous, who strive to create a safer environment for the next generation.

Amanda Vanstone

Senator the Hon. Amanda Vanstone
MINISTER FOR JUSTICE AND CUSTOMS



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Introduction

Introduction

The Commonwealth Government is committed to addressing the issues of crime and violence in Australia. An important focus of National Crime Prevention (NCP), the Commonwealth's crime prevention program, is to identify priorities for violence prevention in Indigenous communities, where statistics show it is occurring at higher rates than for the rest of the Australian population.

The aims of the research consultancy were to:

- 1 identify priorities concerning the prevention of violence in Indigenous communities through a review of literature and through consultations with key stakeholders across disciplines and sectors
- 2 develop a strategic framework to incorporate policy recommendations designed to address the prevention of violence in Indigenous communities, and proposals on how to implement the policy recommendations
- 3 produce recommendations explicitly designed to inform the development of at least one demonstration project that would centre on the prevention of violence in Indigenous communities

When we began this study, the term 'domestic violence' was felt to be unsuitable for any analysis of violence in Indigenous households and was replaced with the term 'family violence' for this report. 'Family violence' was broadly defined to encapsulate not only the extended nature of Indigenous families, but also the context of a range of violence forms, occurring frequently between kinspeople in Indigenous communities. The notion of 'family violence' may be summarised as follows:

- family violence may involve all types of relatives. The victim and the perpetrator often have a kinship relation
- the perpetrator of violence may be an individual or a group
- the victim of violence may also be an individual or a group
- the term 'family' means 'extended family' which also covers a kinship network of discrete, intermarried, descent groups
- the 'community' may be remote, rural or urban based; its residents may live in one location or be more dispersed, but nevertheless interact behave as a social network
- the acts of violence may constitute physical, psychological, emotional, social, economic and/or sexual abuse
- some of the acts of violence are ongoing over a long period of time, one of the most prevalent examples being spousal (or domestic) violence

Note: where the word 'Aboriginal' or 'Aborigines' appears in this report, it should be taken to include Torres Strait Islanders unless explicitly stated or inferred to the contrary.

Section 1 of this report examines the literature of Indigenous violence from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The quantitative findings support the premise that Indigenous violence is widespread and disproportionately high compared to non-Indigenous violence in Australian society. Overall, evidence suggests that the incidence of Indigenous violence is on the increase. Quantitative analyses tend to focus on (i) the incidence of Indigenous violence in a specific community, (ii) the incidence of Indigenous violence in a specific region or State, or (iii) the incidence of a specific form of violence in a particular State or the whole of Australia.

The qualitative literature is involved in modelling the behavioural, psychological and emotional dimensions of violence. The literature argues that Indigenous violence has multiple causes which may be divided into three related categories: (i) precipitating causes that most clearly trigger an episode of violent behaviour, (ii) situational factors, that predispose violence to occur or exacerbate its likelihood, and (iii) underlying issues, that constitute a historical pattern of disruption involving Indigenous systems of law, morals, authority and punishment, and the onset of widespread social and psychological problems which are now being passed from generation to generation. Some of the classical psychological problems of Indigenous perpetrators are lack of self-esteem and a sense of social powerlessness. Alcohol is commonly blamed for Indigenous violence, but should be more correctly viewed as an exacerbating or situational factor than a direct cause. Contemporary Indigenous violence in some respects contains elements and structures that appear to have evolved in recent decades and has no counterpart in classical Aboriginal societies of the early contact period.

It should be noted that the literature tends to be top-heavy with theory and discussion, and lacks reporting of empirical evidence on violence. Whether this is because researchers have overly relied on other literature sources and anecdotal evidence, or because they have chosen not to make their evidence visible to the public for ethical reasons, is unclear. The construction of more sophisticated explanatory and causal models of Indigenous violence will depend on collecting better empirical data on episodes of violence and the underlying issues relevant to violence in specific Indigenous communities and regions of Australia. Although the literature is, in this sense, unscholarly, it serves the purpose of allowing a classification of remedial and preventative programs in accordance with the three categories of causal factors. The authors believe that the highest priority in any campaign against violence in Indigenous communities is the implementation and resourcing of many more community controlled violence programs, rather than research.

Section 2 provides background information on the nature and distribution of a variety of forms of violence, which are, according to the literature and other empirical evidence, prevalent in some or many Indigenous communities. These are:

- 1 spouse assault
- 2 homicide
- 3 rape and sexual assault
- 4 child violence
- 5 suicide
- 6 self injury
- 7 one-on-one adult fighting (same gender)
- 8 inter group violence

- 9 psychological violence
- 10 economic abuse
- 11 cyclic violence
- 12 dysfunctional community syndrome

Of these categories, there is a plethora of literature on spouse assault, homicide, rape and sexual abuse, child violence, suicide and self injury, but a considerable lack of data on one-on-one violence, inter-group violence, psychological abuse, economic abuse, cyclic violence and dysfunctional community syndrome. Cyclic violence and dysfunctional community syndrome are categories which describe more complex and larger scale forms of family violence, the former consisting of a series of violent episodes spanning generations, while the latter consists of simultaneous occurrences of multiple forms of violence in a community.

Section 3 provides descriptive material on violence programs that have been or are being implemented, or were planned for implementation in Indigenous communities during the 1990s. The analysis is based on data drawn from a list of 130 identified programs, together with detailed profiles of 53 of those programs. This extent of profiling (53 out of 130) was a methodological limitation of the study. Programs were identified in all States, with the largest numbers in New South Wales (30), Queensland (29), Western Australia (25), Northern Territory (18) and Victoria (17). This frequency is more or less commensurate with the distribution of the Indigenous populations throughout the country.

An examination of the program profiles resulted in nine categories of program types being elicited and described using accompanying examples:

- 1 support programs (counselling, advocacy)
- 2 strengthening identity programs (sport, education, arts, cultural activities, group therapy)
- 3 behavioural reform programs (men's and women's groups)
- 4 policing programs (night patrols, wardens)
- 5 shelter/protection programs (refuges, sobering-up shelters)
- 6 justice programs (community justice groups)
- 7 mediation programs (dispute resolution)
- 8 education programs (tertiary courses, miscellaneous courses, media awareness)
- 9 composite programs (comprising elements from all programs)

The programs were then classified in another way according to the timeframe for their implementation. In this manner, four time categories of programs were differentiated as follows:

- 1 early reactive programs: are implemented during or immediately after the occurrence of a violent incident, but usually prior to any police prosecution (night patrols, youth suicide intervention strategy, women's refuges, sobering-up shelters)
- 2 late reactive programs: are implemented some time after an act of violence has occurred and relate to resolving the negative outcomes of that violence (mediation, conflict resolution, counselling, group therapy, justice group meetings, offenders' alternate programs)
- 3 early proactive programs: aim to counter any likelihood of violence as early as possible, working on the assumption that there is some risk of violence occurring in the future and that members of a community need to be motivated to undertake sustaining and diversionary activities, such as, education, communal definitions of acceptable and non-acceptable

behaviours, the training of Indigenous violence counsellors and alcohol management strategies

- 4 late proactive programs: those that occur prior to violence occurring, which are triggered by signs of imminent violence and targeted at vulnerable persons (mediations, group therapy, counselling, night patrols, wardens, removal of at-risk youths to safe houses, youth centres, outstations, youth suicide prevention strategy). Many of these methods are similar to those in (1) and (2) but they are targeted at a different category of people, mainly vulnerable individuals as opposed to offenders or victims

The system of classification above, is useful in formulating the design of a holistic set of composite violence programs for a community.

The classification and review of violence programs indicated that there is a scarcity or under-representation of programs in certain key areas of violence, and that there is clearly a need to focus support resources into developing such programs for wider application.

A number of omissions in the available literature on Indigenous violence and violence programs were detected, including (i) a failure of program designers to clearly define the forms of violence they were targeting, (ii) a lack of program evaluation studies, and (iii) a lack of objective studies on the nature of program failures. The review of violence programs was also accompanied by a general finding that there was a general lack of programs in many Indigenous communities.

Section 4 contains a series of community-based strategies for resolving, combating or preventing Indigenous family violence and treating the harm and stress arising from such violence. A search of the literature on Indigenous violence and violence programs reveals a number of recurring strategic aspects that are described in this part of the report. They are the need for:

- 1 community-driven programs
- 2 community agencies to establish partnerships with each other and with relevant government agencies
- 3 composite violence programs that provide a more holistic approach to community violence

A sensitive aspect is how State (or Territory) government agencies may best trigger violence prevention programs in communities where they are obviously needed, while at the same time creating a climate whereby the programs are truly community-originating, motivated and controlled. In providing services in this way, the authors have recommended that government agencies take a regional approach to supporting and coordinating local community initiatives, and assisting communities to prepare community action plans with respect to violence. Another key level of government involvement is through partnerships between Indigenous program personnel and mainstream services such as police, judiciary, prisons, ambulance and hospitals.

The implementation of composite programs, particularly in communities displaying multiple forms of increasing violence, is shown to be an emerging and preferred approach that reflects a more systematic way of combating violence, combining both proactive and reactive methods which target different age and gender groups.



SECTION 1

A review of literature on Indigenous violence



A review of literature on Indigenous violence

Introduction

Although the statistics are imperfect, they are sufficient to demonstrate the disproportionate occurrence of violence in the Indigenous communities of Australia and the traumatic impact on Indigenous people. Murriss, Koories, Yolngu, Anangu, Nyungahs, Nungas, Torres Strait Islanders, and others, who read this report will have little need to be convinced of this fact.

The literature review showed:

- 1 that violence is perceived by many people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, as a major problem in Indigenous communities
- 2 that the incidence of violence in Indigenous communities and among Indigenous people is disproportionately high in comparison to the rates of the same types of violence in the Australian population as a whole
- 3 it is apparent that rates of violence are increasing, and the types of violence are worsening in some Indigenous communities and regions

The first two points have been reiterated in the majority of studies and articles on violence reviewed for this report. These two premises were contained in the deaths in custody literature in the late 1980s and the situation unfortunately has not changed. Indications of high levels of violence among Indigenous people are readily accessible. Some more recent references are Atkinson 1990a & 1990b, Hunter 1990a & 1990b, Bolger 1991, Greer & Breckenridge 1992, Gladman *et al* 1997, Koch 1998, National Crime Prevention 1999, Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1998.

It should be noted that the majority of the literature on violence reviewed for this report was published in the 1990s, with the rest published in the late 1980s. There are only a few items which precede the 1980s. This not only reflects a recent interest in violence by researchers in the last decade, but it is also explained by the fact that violence in Indigenous communities has dramatically increased in certain regions, at least since the 1980s, and in many cases from the 1970s. We shall return to this point at a number of places in this report.

In contrast to the previous decade, studies on violence in Indigenous communities are now numerous and multi-faceted. The majority of literature highlights the complexity of the issues and the lack of any ready quick-fix solutions. Ways of presenting information vary according to the method of study, the community in which the study was completed, the type of violence being analysed and the agency or professional discipline from which the research originated.

The body of available literature includes studies, reports, commissions, academic theories and analyses from within the areas of **health** (eg Hunter 1990a, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, Hunter 1993, Hunter *et al* 1991, Brady 1990, Reser 1991b, Reser *et al* 1990, Gladman *et al*, 1997, Kreisfeld *et al* 1995), **anthropology** (eg Memmott 1990c, 1991a, Reser 1990b, 1991b, Martin 1992, Langton 1988, 1989, 1993, Glastonbury 1994), **legal and judicial perspectives** (eg d'Abbs 1990, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d, Miller 1992b, Wootten 1992, Cunneen 1992, Lloyd & Rogers 1993, Lincoln & Wilson 1994, Hazlehurst 1997, Chantrill 1997, 1998a, 1998b), **community and other organisations** (Southside Domestic Violence Action Group 1994, Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996), **youth and womens affairs** (Bell & Nelson 1989, Bolger 1991, National Crime Prevention 1999), and **Indigenous perspectives** (Langton 1988, 1993, Atkinson 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, Atkinson & Ober 1995).

Methodological problems within the literature include a lack of empirical detail (or first hand information) in many areas and inconsistencies such as those summed up by the psychologist Dr Reser (1990a:53) as 'a confusing collapse of levels of analysis, wherein no distinction is made between individual and collective experience, between psychological on the one hand and between the historical and political on the other'. However, as Memmott stated elsewhere, methodological problems are to be expected in a study of this kind (Memmott 1990c:3) and rather than slowing or impeding violence assessment, they need to be stated and addressed.

One issue in particular which requires emphasis is the under-reporting of violence, especially the rape and assault of women by men (Barber *et al* 1989 in Atkinson 1990c:6). There are undoubtedly a number of reasons behind the failure to report such violence. For example, a report to the Queensland Office of Aboriginal Women in 1990 gave the following explanation:

I have found that the majority of sexual/physical assaults against Aboriginal women are not reported. Most women are terrified of the police 'interrogation' where anything from a woman's sexual history to whether she is a fit mother or not is brought out into the open. Reporting an assault sometimes seems to be just as traumatic as the actual assault.
(cited in Atkinson 1990c:20).

It will be indicated later that certain types of violence appear to have been occurring only comparatively recently over the last five to 10 years in many communities (eg group rape) and this may constitute another reason for under-reporting in these cases. However, the reporting of crimes to police, and the total reliance on them in communities, can have negative long-term effects as well (although this should not discourage the reporting of such violence).

Information on the types, incidents and rates of violence are presented in the literature in a number of forms. In the first place, the literature may be divided into quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Quantitative analyses

An abundance of quantitative information on certain types of violence, injury, incarcerations and types of crime taking place within the Indigenous population may be found in the literature on violence. There are a number of different ways of presenting this data. The following three methods were frequently used:

- 1** Listing types of crimes, some of which include violent crimes, that were committed in a particular region or State over a certain period and the incidents of Indigenous offenders of each type. For example, Bolger (1991) reveals the number and types of offences against Aboriginal women reported in the Northern Territory for 1987 and 1988. Her research indicates that in 1987, there were 257 offences (murder, attempted murder, assault and sexual assault) against Aboriginal women representing 18% of a total of 1443 offences reported for that year. She also compares the incidents of violence committed in urban areas to rural areas—146 versus 111 for 1987 (Bolger 1991:13). Other information presented by Bolger includes the number and percentage of Aboriginal women compared with non-Aboriginal women accommodated at women's refuges in Darwin and Alice Springs (Bolger 1991:20–21). Wilson (1982), reported that for the period of 1978–1981, the homicide rate amongst Aboriginal people was 39.6 per 100,000 compared to 3.28 in the non-Indigenous community (Breckenridge & Carmody 1992:191; see also Miller 1992a.).
- 2** Another way of reporting on violence is to focus on one type of violence or injury, for example domestic violence or homicide (the most commonly represented types), and to record the number of Indigenous offenders and victims of such for a city, town, region or State during a specific time period. For example, the Australian Institute of Criminology's homicide figures show that Indigenous people constituted at least 13% of homicide victims and 17% of offenders, although they constituted only 1.5% of the population as a whole (Hazlehurst 1997:105). Hazlehurst (1997) recently reported that the Aboriginal homicide rate in Indigenous communities is 10 times that of the national average. Kreisfeld et al (1995:20) found that deaths from interpersonal violence, for Australia, except Queensland, occurred at a rate among Aboriginal people of 23 cases per 100,000 for males and 16 cases per 100,000 for females. These rates were 10.8 times higher than the rates among the non-Indigenous population. Chantrill's (1997:3) research shows that in 1994, 51.6% of all children in Queensland detention centres were of Indigenous origin, and in 1996 the figure had risen to 61.8%. Barber et al, 1989 (cited in Hunter 1991b:89) found that serious suicide attempts on Palm Island occurred at a rate of 1.25 per month, while Kreisfeld et al (1995:21) report suicide among Indigenous people to be at a rate of 11 per 100,000, with most of these occurring among the 15-35 year old age group.
- 3** A third way of reporting on violence is a community-specific approach whereby violence within a specific Indigenous community or a cluster of communities is assessed. For example, Wilson (1982) reported that between late 1978 and mid 1981, the homicide rate for 17 Queensland Aboriginal Reserve communities was 39.6 per 100,000, which was more than 12 times the Queensland average. Martin's homicide figures for one community in one year (Martin 1988b) give an adjusted rate for comparison with State figures of a rate over 400 per 100,000 (Martin, 1992:169). Another example is the study by Moller, Dolinis & Cripps (1996) on injury and health which focuses on the types of physical damage and injury being treated at certain Indigenous community hospitals.

Gladman *et al's* 1997 study of injury in five Queensland Aboriginal communities was conducted in association with the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) and incorporates information collected from community health services, whereas previous studies have relied only on hospital separation and mortality rates. In the first part of this study, the information is predominantly presented as statistical information and diagrams which take some time to interpret. Statistical data are presented in more than 60 figures, graphs and tables showing injuries incurred in one community, according to categories including age, sex, days of the week, external cause, and alcohol as a contributing factor and principal cause of injury. It could be argued here that an over-emphasis on statistics and data collection has blurred some of the deeper and underlying causes and internal social problems in these communities (Gladman *et al* 1997:11–54). The second part of Gladman *et al's* 1997 paper is more qualitatively focused, with case studies from two communities and analyses by age and gender of people affected by injury.

In most of these quantitative analyses, a comparison of the Indigenous statistics is made with the incidents of violence that are committed by either the non-Indigenous population or the population as a whole. In every case the rate per population sample is seen to be much higher among Indigenous offenders than non-Indigenous offenders.

It is noted in one study, Hatty, 1987, (cited in Bolger 1991:24), that researchers should give up their preoccupation with studying the incidence of domestic violence as they will never be given the full picture, and they should rather concentrate on qualitative methods of inquiry. However, a constant monitoring of the statistics on Indigenous violence is a way of knowing whether the problem is increasing or decreasing, and this may be useful in assisting with the evaluation of violence programs. What is needed are some common, agreed forms of reporting which will provide reliable comparisons between communities, regions and States. However, given the limited research resources available, the authors would strongly agree that priority should be placed on implementing anti-violence programs, rather than on further quantitative research.

Qualitative analyses

There are a number of important studies that contain qualitative information on violence in Indigenous communities. Rather than examining the incidence or frequency of violence, they focus on the nature, structure, history and dynamics of such violence. The data in these studies often comprise individual case studies. Such case studies are likely to be some of the worst examples of violence but should by no means be considered to be exceptional (eg. Collmann 1988, Atkinson 1990a, 1990b, 1996b, Hunter 1990a, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, Hunter *et al* 1991, Bolger 1991, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d, Martin 1992, Gladman *et al* 1997, Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1998, Koch 1998).

Qualitative analyses demonstrate more strongly various psychological, emotional and behavioural elements that are not addressed in quantitative studies. The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC) case studies of the individual victims of deaths in custody are good examples which highlight the underlying factors that directly impact on the

enactment of violence, which in these cases culminated in a suicide or death in custody by other causes, but which was often preceded by a longitudinal history of violence types (see also Reser 1990b). Since the RCIADIC produced its many volumes of reports, qualitative studies on violence have diversified further beyond Aboriginal deaths in custody (Cunneen & McDonald 1996 and Cunneen 1997b reviews of Indigenous deaths in custody since the RCIADIC, in light of the Commission's findings).

Another commonly presented form of qualitative information are case studies of spouse violence (referred to in the literature as 'domestic violence'), particularly cases of repeated abuse of women, often over many years, committed by their male partners (Atkinson 1990a, 1990b, Bolger 1991, Cattalini & Allbrook 1992, Southside Domestic Violence Action Group 1994, Mow 1994, Koch 1998). Similarly alcohol-related violence receives widespread attention in the literature, and is addressed using various approaches, for example health and the relationship of injuries to alcohol consumption (Gladman *et al* 1997:6–7), the relationship of alcohol to spouse violence (Brady 1990, Bolger 1991, Koch 1998), and alcohol and suicide (Hunter 1991b, Reser 1991a).

The criteria for distinguishing or selecting categories of injury vary between the various studies. For example, studies on injury may categorise suicide with other forms of self-harm such as intentionally self-inflicted injuries (eg Gladman *et al* 1997). The source of injury information, for example hospital admissions versus health clinic admissions, also creates variances in the analysis of injury (Moller *et al* 1996). Thus Kreisfeld *et al* (1995) analyse injury in terms of deaths caused by four main categories of injury, whereas Gladman *et al* (1997) assess injury according to incidents presenting at a community clinic for treatment (using 15 categories of injury). The issue of the classification of violence will be re-examined in the next section.

Another aspect of the qualitative analyses of violence is the vigorous debate on the various causes and contributing factors underlying human violence. This aspect deserves some examination, as it leads into a consideration of the ways in which one might prevent causal and contributing factors from happening, and the types of anti-violence programs that might achieve this.

Causes of violence

In understanding Indigenous personal violence, Barbara Miller (1990b), writing on behalf of the Aboriginal Coordinating Council in Queensland, highlighted a number of causal factors for consideration:

... socialisation, structural variables and parenting style factors such as compensatory machoism (an attitude that boys can develop in absent-father households); a view of the environment as sentencing due to discrimination; availability of aggressive models; learned helplessness and lack of perceived control over the environment; the development of aggressive habits and beliefs, poor self-esteem; psychological reactive and confrontational coping mechanisms, all contribute in varying ways to Aboriginal intra-cultural aggression and violence. Socialisation of Aboriginal children, in particular boys, in a colonised discriminatory environment has led to the above individual factors interacting with frustration and conflict to cause aggression and violence. (Miller 1990b:314.)

The causes of violence provide the focus for a large proportion of the qualitative studies on Indigenous violence. While a number of different theories are presented, the overwhelming evidence supports the position that the various forms of Indigenous violence have multiple originating causes. The causes are often and probably best, considered in three categories: (i) precipitating causes, (ii) situational factors, (iii) underlying factors.

- 1 the **precipitating causes** may as one or more particular events that trigger a violent episode by a perpetrator
- 2 the **situational factors** could include aspects such as alcohol abuse, other people encouraging one or both of the antagonists to act, conflicting social differences between the antagonists etc and thereby constitute secondary exacerbating circumstances in the social environment of the antagonists
- 3 the **underlying factors** are the deep historical circumstances of Indigenous people, which make them vulnerable, leading to their enacting, or becoming the victim, of violent behaviour

Each of these three categories will be discussed in some detail, starting with underlying factors.

Underlying factors of violence

A strong and commonly presented view is that the incidence of violence in Indigenous communities and among Indigenous people cannot be separated from the history of European and Indigenous relations. The literature argues that patterns of contemporary violence among Aboriginal people have their origins in the violent dispossession of land by Europeans in the early contact period. Ongoing cultural dispossession and its consequences, taking different forms over the past 200 years, have impacted on Indigenous people socially, economically, physically, psychologically and emotionally, to the point that, today, violence in some Aboriginal communities has reached epidemic proportions.

This argument was mounted very strongly during the research on Aboriginal deaths in custody. Researchers and lawyers participating in the Queensland RCIADIC team argued that from the 1890s until the 1960s, Aboriginal social structures were broken down by three mechanisms:

- 1 State policies of removing Aboriginal people to reserves or missions, and the allied policy of removing people of mixed descent from their families. Regarding the policy of Aboriginal removals, Commissioner Hal Wootten (1992:64) stated:

It would be difficult to find an Aboriginal person above the age of thirty who had not had some experience of State intervention in Aboriginal families.

- 2 The dormitory system: in Queensland from the turn of the century until as late as the 1970s in some places, the dormitory system was instituted in many Aboriginal communities. Neill describes her experiences living in the Cherbourg dormitories in the early and mid 1960s:

The mothers' dormitories housed working women, who had babies in most instances from rape whilst working away on stations and properties in south-east Queensland. When the children reached the age of three they were either placed in the boys' or girls' dormitories. When they became of working age as deemed by the managers of the

missions, they were in turn farmed out as cheap labour. This maintained the production of cheap and/or slave labour as many of our folks' wages were paid into an account controlled by the manager (Neill n.d. in Memmott 1990a:22).

- 3 The political and disciplinary disempowerment of elders by mission and reserve managers: on the erosion of the power of Aboriginal elders and community leaders, Memmott (1990a:23) argues that the practice of undermining the authority of such elders was an outcome of the work of mission managers whose duty it was to effect on Indigenous communities social changes. This disempowerment was achieved through mechanisms such as banning ceremonies, banning traditional marriages and polygyny, banning Indigenous languages as well as punishment for those who would not conform, and the undermining of Indigenous religions and cultural values.

Contributing factors such as those above have occurred over the last 100 years or more, and are responsible for the loss of 'social [and family] control stemming from the erosion of values concerning traditional social structures, their underpinning ideologies, leadership qualities and the desirability of social control' (Memmott 1990a:25).

In his 1991 contribution to the RCIADIC Inquiry, Memmott summarises theoretical explanations of deaths in custody with four points.

Table 1 *The underlying issues behind Deaths in Custody in Queensland*

- 1 **The impact of colonial expansion and aggression on Aborigines throughout the State up to 1898**, involving:
 - dispossession of land, population decimation, violence, murder, massacres, maltreatment, fatal diseases, opium and alcohol addiction, slave labour exploitation and chronic anxiety.
- 2 **The period from 1898 to the post 1967 era, when Aboriginal people were under the exclusive control of the various Queensland Aboriginal Acts.** This period receives the most extensive treatment by analysts. The numerous themes of institutional impact on Aboriginal culture, society, and mentality during this period, amount to an overwhelming and very comprehensive disruption, dismantling, and destruction of cultural systems, institutions and elements, and a gross failure to facilitate the substitution of an adequate alternate set of cultural systems to achieve a reasonable quality of lifestyle. The types of themes in these analyses include:
 - removalism, segregation, alienation from traditional estates and tribal lands, breakdown of social structure and kinship, loss of religious practices, loss of spirituality, loss of traditional economies, racism and ethnocentrism, racial stereotyping, loss of languages, employment control and labour exploitation, denial of wages, removal of rights and responsibilities, loss of personal freedom, suppression of humaneness, imposition of a negative sociopolitical status, extermination of cultural heritage, loss of social autonomy, repressive laws, powerlessness, paternalism, socioeconomic deprivation, etc (for example, see Koepping 1977:175, Commissioner for Community Relations 1980: Langton 1981, Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council (Gray) to Human Rights Commission 1987, Turrell *et al*

1990, Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council 1990, Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force 1988:258, Miller 1990a:6.)

3 This history has caused a wide range of social problems in Aboriginal communities today. Examples of problems embedded in the literature are:

low socioeconomic status, lack of economic base, lack of employment, low income, welfare dependency, poor housing conditions, settlement and house crowding, poor education, welfare dependency, high mortality rates (including infant mortality), poor health, high imprisonment, alcoholism, excessive alcohol consumption, interpersonal violence, marital conflict and breakdown, self-injury, suicide, high crime rates, land shortage, lack of skills and resources for effective community management, poor government service delivery, institutional discrimination, loss of social control, community factionalism, child neglect, sexual offences, AIDS, STDs, community disintegration, lack of political recognition of rights, lack of effective self-determination, 'community destruct factors' etc (for example, see Craig 1979, Commissioner for Community Relations 1980: Wilson 1982, Trigger *et al* 1983, Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council (Gray) to Human Rights Commission 1987, Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force 1988:258, Martin 1988b, Anderson & Coates 1989:1,51, Taylor *et al* 1989:28, Miller (for ACC) 1990b:20–26, Turrell *et al* 1990)

4 These wider problems are in turn associated with a host of psychological problems, such as:

lack of self-esteem, or self-respect, powerlessness, frustration, shame, remorse, coping difficulties, depression, hopelessness, lack of meaning to life, loss of spirituality, alienation, ignorance of rights, sexual disturbance, anger, hate, complacency, apathy, fatal psychic trauma (ibid).

The literature agrees that the underlying cause of deaths in custody was (and remains) the 'structural violence' of race relations over some five or more generations. This also serves to explain the origin of other types of increasing violence in many Indigenous communities. In a similar concurrence, Reser (1990a) explains Indigenous violence in terms of 'cultural contact, historical brutality and acculturative stress' which then cause confusion about one's role and cultural identity, internal conflict and feelings of alienation and anomie (Reser 1990a:35, 56–7 also citing O'Neil 1987:249). See also Martin 1992:171, Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council 1990:24–6.

If these arguments are right, then we would expect the Indigenous communities which are most affected by violence to be those with a long history of functioning as removal centres or missions and where maximum dysfunctional cultural change has occurred. This is supported by recent crimes against the person statistics (ie assault, rape, homicide etc), produced by the Queensland Criminal Justice Commission (1998).

As a means of highlighting the importance of geographic variations in the rate of crimes against the person, the Queensland Criminal Justice Commission (1998) recently presented several maps and tables (Tables 1 & 2, Figures 1 & 2) which show the rate of offences against the person for individual police divisions throughout Queensland (a division being the geographic area policed by a station). To account for the fact that crime rates can fluctuate substantially from one year to the next, especially in the smaller divisions, the maps show the average annual rate for the three financial years 1994–95 to 1996–97. These maps show that ...

[m]ost of the divisions in the State with the highest reported crime rates (shaded red) are located in Aboriginal communities, or areas with substantial indigenous populations (such as Camooweal and Burketown). Communities such as Cairns, Mareeba, Townsville, Rockhampton and Gympie also have relatively high rates (yellow or green shading) ... Within the south-east corner, the highest rates are to be found in the inner areas of Brisbane, and in Surfers Paradise. In the outer urban areas, the divisions with the highest rates are Ipswich, Inala and Logan Central. In part, the high rates for Brisbane City and Surfers Paradise reflect the large number of licensed premises and the considerable amount of nightlife in these areas. However, the rates for both of these locations are also inflated by the fact that they are based on resident population rather than actual population (which is many times larger) (Criminal Justice Commission 1998).

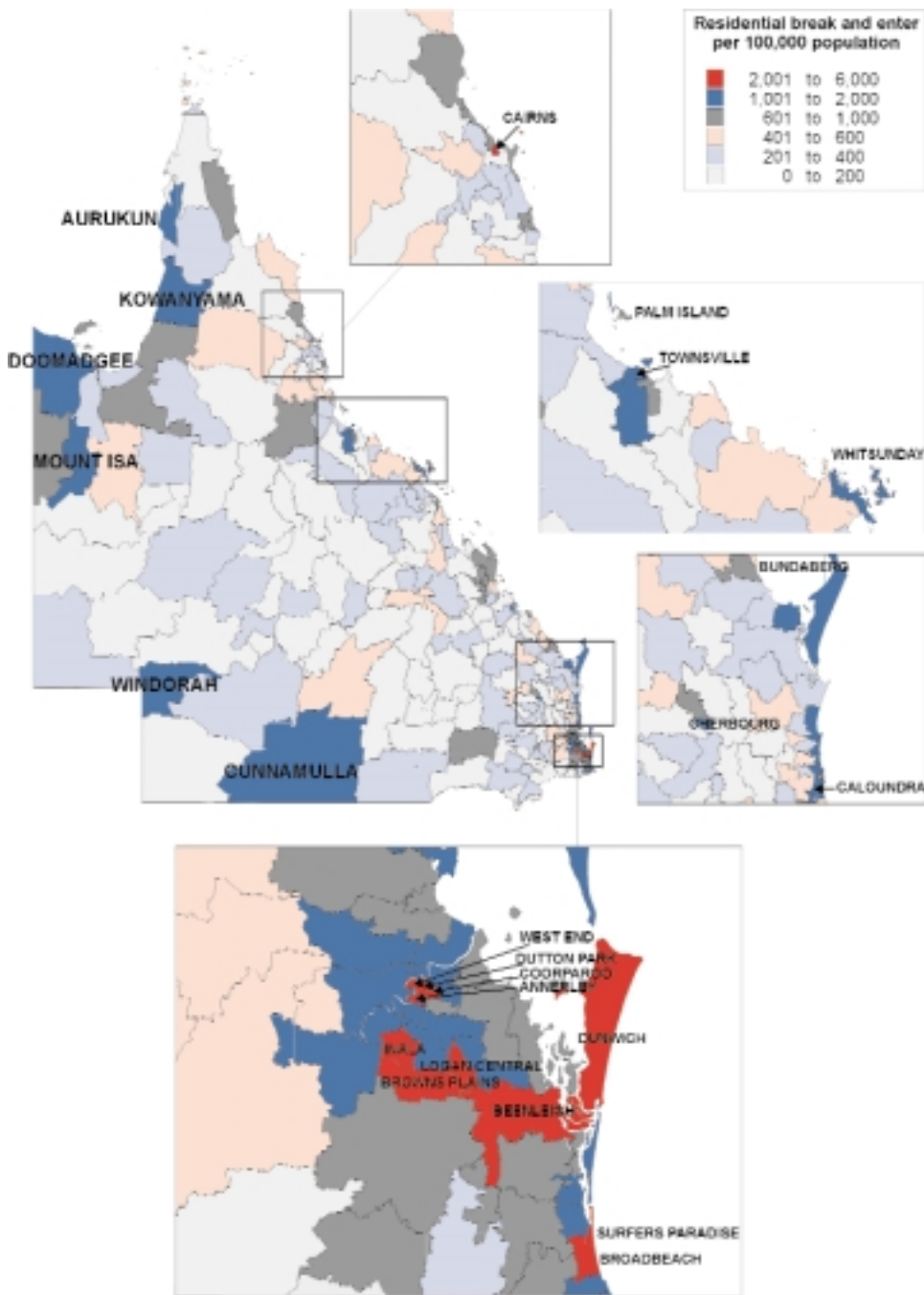
It should be noted that the four places with the worst incidence of violent crime (shown in Table 2) are Indigenous communities which all have a history of being mission centres. This evidence tends to support the paradigm of underlying issues.

Table 2 Number of recorded offences against persons in Queensland, four police divisions with highest rates, 1996–97

OFFENCE	1. AURUKUN (Population 856)	2. DOOMADGEE (Population 896)	3. KOWANYAMA (Population 850)	4. MORNINGTON IS (Population 1216)
Homicide	0	2	0	3
Assault	105	90	96	115
Rape/attempted rape	2	3	4	1

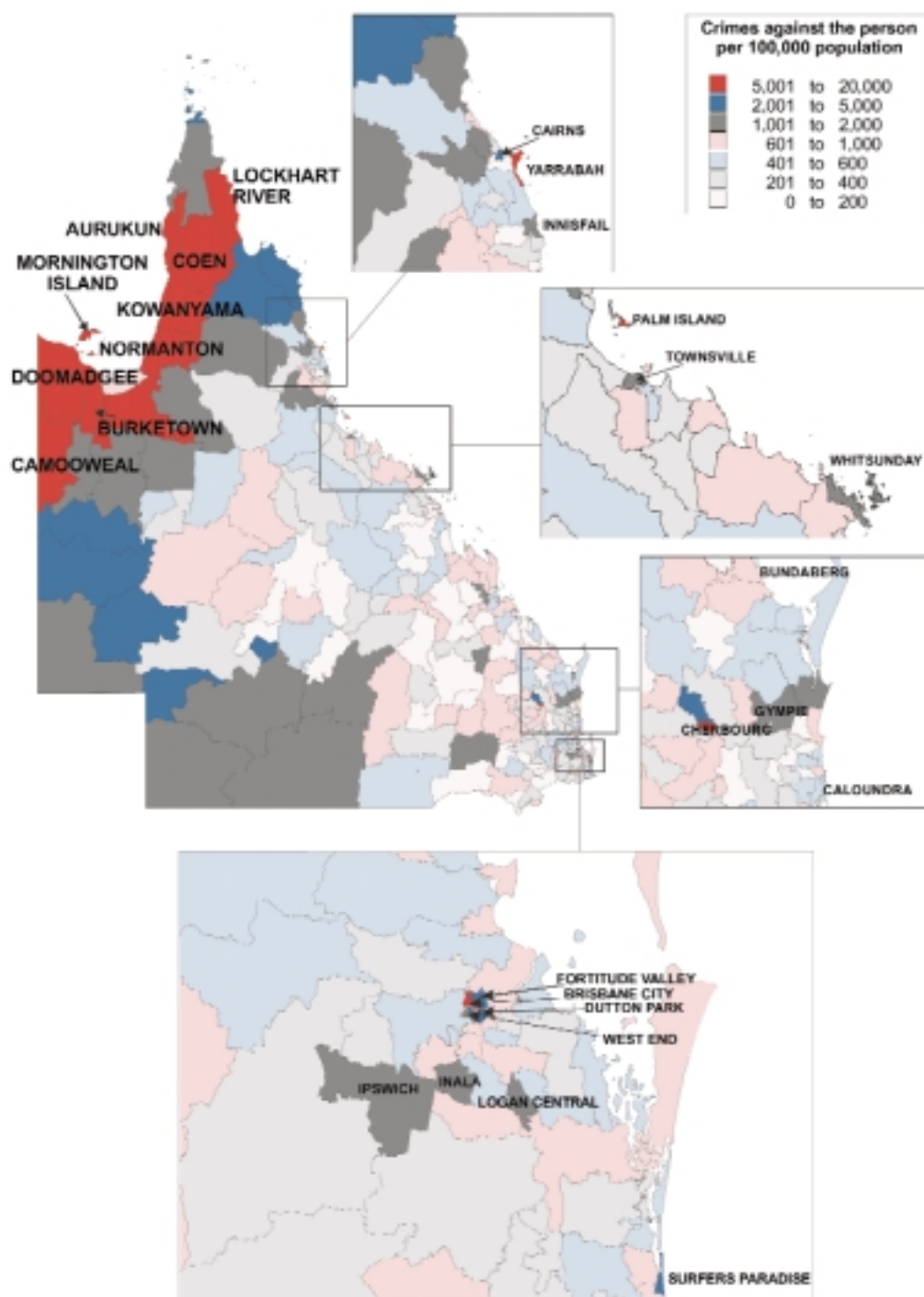
Source Extract from Criminal Justice Commission 1998 (unpublished QPS data)

Figure 1 Annual average rate of residential break and enters by police division (Qld, 1994–95 to 1996–97)



Source Queensland Criminal Justice Commission

Figure 2 Annual average rate of crimes against the person by police division (Qld, 1994–95 to 1996–97)



Source Queensland Criminal Justice Commission

Table 3 Recorded offences against the person in Queensland, four police divisions with highest rates compared to Queensland average (all rates adjusted as per 100,000 population) 1996–97

OFFENCE	QLD AVERAGE	1. AURUKUN	2. KOWANYAMA	3. DOOMADGEE	4. MORNINGTON IS.
Homicide	7	0	0	223	247
Assault	490	12,266	10,714	10,044	9457
Rape/ attempted rape	17	233	470	335	82.2
All offences against persons	819	15,420	12,470	12,053	11,184

Source Extract from Criminal Justice Commission 1998 (unpublished QPS data)

While the explanation above of the underlying issues behind Indigenous violence is drawn exclusively from Queensland evidence, there are similar case studies and models for some other States. For example, see Cunneen (1992), for an analysis of the manifestation of violence in north-west New South Wales towns, which uses a socio-historical model of Aboriginal dispossession through over-policing practices and the resultant culture of resistance.

Another related form of violence is defined by Hunter (1991a) as ‘oppositional violence’ or violence that is part of a pattern of resistance which began to be expressed following the withdrawal or relaxation of control by government and mission agencies on Aboriginal reserves. This resistance is manifested in ‘unacceptable’ behaviour forms which often involve alcohol, and which become ‘a means of rejecting White expectations and resisting bureaucratic demands’ (Hunter 1991a:94). This is similar to what Reser (1990a, 1990b) refers to as violence as reactance which manifests in the context of extreme denial of autonomy and control—that of Aboriginal suicides in custody. These descriptions and forms of violence reflect one of the more overt reactions to the impact of underlying issues in contemporary Indigenous people’s lives.

While these models highlight the ways in which violence has been perpetuated through time since early contact (for example Hunter 1991a), it must be realised that the majority of violence being committed by Indigenous people today is not inter-racial violence but violence committed by Indigenous people on other Indigenous people and upon themselves. One reason for this could be that ‘removal’ policies have ensured the relative isolation of large communities of Aboriginal people from the majority of the non-Indigenous Australian population.

The impact of personal, family and community disintegration in many Aboriginal societies, enacted by missions, statutes and regulations, and State and Commonwealth policies, is still being realised today and should not be underestimated if genuine and workable solutions to prevent violence in Indigenous communities are to be developed. What is required is treatment and ‘healing’ on a massive scale, including the healing of individuals, families and whole communities.

The ability of Aboriginal people to be self-determining must be addressed if Indigenous communities are to implement programs that come some way to resolving the issue of violence (Atkinson 1990a:14, Atkinson 1991:5, Martin 1992, Wootten 1992, Hunter 1993:153,

Cunneen & Kerley 1995, Atkinson 1996a:7, Cunneen 1997b:11). The need for Indigenous communities to be more self-determining was a major recommendation of the RCIADIC.

Hunter (1991a:96), in analysing several case studies of Indigenous violence, also highlights the hopelessness, helplessness, despair and rage (Hunter 1991a:96).

The problem of Indigenous violence is thus both longitudinal and interconnected with many spheres of life. The holistic approach to tackling the violence problem involves providing land, housing, health services, education, employment, substance abuse services etc as well as violence programs. Matthews asserts that, in Victoria, most of the action that can be taken to redress Koori crime is outside the arena of the justice system and is rather to be found in the spheres of health, education, housing and employment (Matthews 1997:8). In this study it is not our intention to deal in detail with these broader aspects of the prevention of the problem. However, the need for such should not be underestimated.

Powerlessness, helplessness, despair and rage may be examined further under situational factors.

Situational factors

Situational factors contribute to incidents of violence that as such, are not direct causes. They exacerbate violence in combination with direct causes. Situational factors may include family problems, financial problems, loss of close family members or other relations, unemployment, psychological problems, anger, alcohol intoxication, other persons who are encouraging a perpetrator to act, conflicting social differences between the antagonists, etc.

Trigger *et al* (1993), in a study of 14 mainland Aboriginal reserve communities in Queensland, revealed a connection between violent causes of death and certain community types. One of the characteristics for determining community types was the local history of government policy and style of administration. In an analysis of these findings, the criminologist Wilson (1982:18) wrote:

High-violence reserves were marked by a number of characteristics: alcohol was legally available; they had relatively high populations; most importantly, they were reserves that had received displaced Aborigines from other areas ... Reserves with lower rating had nearly the reverse pattern: they were communities in which alcohol was not legally available; where relatively high levels of traditional culture survived; they had low populations; they were generally isolated from white influence; they were not receivers of people forced from their traditional areas ... These trends in violence and destruction on Aboriginal reserves point to explanations which are familiar to observers of other societies. Whenever there is a lack of community cohesion, considerable mobility from one area to another and tribal disharmony, crime and violence rates escalate.

Here we have a number of historical factors or underlying issues which result in the occurrence of certain situational factors. The 'situational factors' may in turn contribute in some way to the likelihood of violence, or increase its frequency. Such situations may be thought of as violence provoking, a term coined by Wilson (in Atkinson 1990a:6).

Hazlehurst (1995:xix) lists the following causes of domestic fighting in the Indigenous context, most of which may be classified as situational factors:

- interracial tension
- overzealous policing
- cohabitation between distinct tribal groups on missions
- interfamily feuds
- poverty
- unemployment
- boredom

Another example of a situational factor is brain damage caused by petrol sniffing. Such neurological impairment may lead to antisocial forms of behaviour including violence, either towards others or oneself.

Availability of pornographic videos in some remote communities is also stated as a factor contributing to violence, for example, Lloyd and Rogers (1993:152) who described the availability of these in Northern Territory communities. In the absence of more appropriate types of entertainment for young people and the lack of healthy relationship models within some communities, the combination of pornographic videos and young bored, displaced and alienated teenage boys and young men has a devastating impact on the lives of young girls and women. This phenomenon is probably best classified as a situational factor, like alcohol.

An important situational factor is the prevailing social value of, and attitude towards, violence. Where violence has been a way of life for many Indigenous families for a number of generations, it may be viewed as normal. Parents may regard it as inevitable that their children will be violent. Thus, in a study by Atkinson, women expressed their concern and feelings of helplessness, knowing their sons will grow up and beat their wives and show no respect for women. Children growing up in violent homes, frequently believe that violence is a normal reaction to problems and to feelings of anger (Atkinson 1990b:10, Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:2).

In the view of the psychologist Dr Joseph Reser, there is 'a substantial elaboration of the expression of anger in Aboriginal cultures.' He argues that 'to understand this it is essential to appreciate the real cultural differences in the means of emotional expression and the functions that are served by such expressions of anger' (Reser 1990a:30).

While Aboriginal people may, as a cultural group, have more acceptance for expressions of anger, they also have a lot to be angry about (considering the underlying issues as one categorical example). However, major social problems occur when anger translates directly into violence. This issue needs further assessment, understanding and eventual incorporation into violence prevention programs. One option is through programs which introduce non-physical ways of expressing anger and helping people realise the differences between anger and violence. While declaring violence to be wrong may be a preferred option, making anger wrong (a feeling that is a justifiable response in a number of situations), introduces emotional denial, thus avoiding the issue of finding long term workable solutions to Indigenous violence.

A related problem of family violence is the emergence of a type of social complacency, as discussed by Atkinson:

women cannot see any options but to accept the violence, for it is their own kin involved. The future looks bleak for many of these women and in talking to them, it is apparent they feel a sense of real powerlessness and hopelessness. (Atkinson in Memmott 1990c:5.)

Or as Pat O'Shane stated it: 'It's part of being black isn't it? ... It happens in every home, regardless of how it looks to people on the outside' (cited in Atkinson 1990b:6). Learned violence within both family and community creates a culture and expectation of violence as acceptable behaviour (this will be discussed further in a later section).

Another situational factor is belonging to, or participating in, a subculture that approves of, or condones, violence. Amir (1971:318–20 cited in Bolger 1991:41) states that in a study on rape he conducted, most of the rapists were found to belong to such a subculture. The high incidence of rape and pack rape of children and young girls by groups of young boys living in some North Queensland communities is almost certainly linked with this situational factor. Many of these boys have grown up in families where alcoholism is rife, and where violence is an everyday occurrence and often viewed as the norm (eg Koch 31/10/98, National Crime Prevention 1999:10).

Other situational factors behind violence in Indigenous families include:

- a lack of available resources/services for counselling, violence programs, recreational activities (for example Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:6)
- children roaming the streets at night without adult supervision or knowledge of their whereabouts (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:6)
- break up of the family, eg suicide, marriage or de facto separation, removal of a child by the state, incarceration of a family member, death of family member, infant mortality
- loss of job/income

These events are occurring on a regular basis in many Indigenous families. While an extended period of grief following the loss of a loved one is considered normal, Indigenous communities often experience multiple deaths for prolonged periods. The combination of many losses of, not just family members, but other community members (eg one community visited by the authors had at least four youth suicides in less than 12 months) and the lack of support networks and facilities including counselling, means people are unable to heal emotional wounds, which then begin to worsen, impacting on one's ability to function normally. This is what Atkinson means when she states that Indigenous people are 'hurting inside'. Under such conditions and experiences, alcohol consumption may provide the only relief from emotional pain.

Situational factors may be many and varied. While none by itself may be seen to be causing an incident of violence, taken collectively they contribute to the likelihood of violence occurring.

Precipitating causes

Precipitating causes were defined previously as a type of social event which triggers an episode of violence.

Precipitating causes listed by Chadbourne (1992:6) in the south-west of Western Australia were as follows:

making a pass at a defacto; quarrelling between husband and wife; children fighting at school; accidentally knocking someone over at sport; arguing over a game of cards; 'driving past' a person's house; not inviting someone to a wedding or birthday; borrowing something and forgetting to give it back; disagreeing over the ownership of a sports uniform; the arrival of a 'stranger' in town; spreading false rumours; carrying yarns; and making a 'put down' remark.

Chadbourne goes on to provide a list of other situational factors (past grudges, feuds, etc) which may represent the strongest impetus for acting violently, but which are triggered by what may appear to be trivial incidents and remarks as those listed above.

Many of the precipitating factors thus constitute day-to-day events or activities that in isolation do not seem severe enough to be justifiable as a reason for one person enacting violence to another. It is important to realise that it is the combined effect of a precipitating cause with both situational factors and underlying issues that leads to a bout of violence of some kind. Numerous case studies on domestic violence, for example, cite incidents in which an intoxicated male tells his female spouse to do something and when she refuses he beats her. Alcohol in this sense can also be a contributing factor. Other examples include women not handing over money or not supplying food when it is demanded by their spouse (Bolger 1991:25–37).

A recent empirical study has isolated some of the typical precipitating causes in North Queensland Indigenous communities. In its study of injury in five Cape York communities, Gladman *et al* (1997:76) reported that the members of one community identified three major reasons why fighting occurred in their community:

1. Jealousy

The most common form of jealousy identified was between males and females. But male to male and female to female jealousy were also included as precipitating fights on occasions. Jealousy in relationships as well as jealousy over material goods were identified as reasons for feeling jealous. Alcohol was a common contributing (situational) factor to the outbreak of a fight.

By way of comparison, the QDVF (Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force 1988:258) identified sexual jealousy as one of four categories of reasons behind domestic violence in contemporary Indigenous communities. However what is more apparent is the social and cultural context out of which this jealousy emerges and the reasons for its significance:

It was explained to Task Force members that relationships are one of the few commodities available to many Aboriginal people. The feared loss of a valued relationship is far more personally threatening in a context of ongoing poverty and deprivation than it is for an individual who has access to other opportunities for self-gratification and self-definition such as meaningful employment (Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force 1988:263).

Note that in some episodes of violence, jealousy may be more accurately thought of as a situational factor when a specific incident (eg abuse, swearing) triggers a violent exchange.

2. Payments of debts

Failure to repay a debt (either a forgotten debt or an inability to repay a debt) was identified as a cause of fighting. This factor is made worse in many Indigenous communities where few people have any disposable income and most people are poor, needy and welfare-dependant (Hunter 1990b:272). Furthermore, the expectations to provide for others (who in turn are expected to reciprocate) brought about through one's network of cultural and kinship obligations places further stresses on people's lives. This is partly reflected in Gibson's statement (1987:3 cited in Bolger 1991:51) that the traditional notion of sharing was being distorted in certain Aboriginal communities in the 1980s. He cites the example of a man spending the family income on alcohol which he shares with his cousins, fulfilling his cultural and kinship obligations and thereby justifying his action. His actions could be alternatively interpreted as a rejection of his cultural and kinship obligations to his spouse and children.

3. Payback

This type of causal factor can be identified as paying someone back for a grievous act that they did to someone else. Violence of this type can occur between individuals, families or larger groups involving significant sections of the community.

At one meeting held by Queensland Health personnel in a Cape York community, all persons present identified the following:

... [t]hat although alcohol was a contributing factor in most of the injuries [analysed during the study], the underlying problems that many of the community might be carrying inside them was a major issue and often the real cause of the injury (Gladman et al 1997:76).

In the above study, it was also found that a lot of people were 'hurting inside' following accidents, injuries and other problems that were affecting their family and close friends, and that these people needed someone to talk to so they could handle their feelings better (Gladman et al 1997:76-7). This state of 'hurting inside' is also best considered as a situational factor conducive to violence, that might well stem from underlying issues. Findings from a study conducted by Brady (1990:139) into Indigenous women and alcohol also found that a number of women reported that they indulged in bouts of drinking or resorted to a period of drinking alcohol following personal grief or trauma (hurting inside), such as the deaths of loved ones. In situations where violence is common, people affected by alcohol are then more at risk of physical danger when disputes break out (Brady 1990:139).

Note: the boundaries between situational factors and precipitating causes are rather blurred in many instances, partly due to the complex psychology of violence and partly due to a lack of detailed reporting in case studies. What are normally situational factors may sometimes change into precipitating causes.

Customary violence and the problem of the abnormal enculturation of violence

As mentioned previously under 'situational factors', a compounding issue in any consideration of contemporary violence is the growing acceptance of violence as a normal social and cultural aspect of life in many modern Indigenous communities.

Prior to colonial contact, most fighting was structured in traditional Aboriginal societies and occurred at special places. Fighting behaviour was controlled by elders and senior adults, and was carried out according to social rules in response to specified offences. There were often different types of fights employed in relation to the age or gender of the persons involved, and the nature and severity of the offence, but some level of control generally prevailed through the use of 'seconds' and adjudicators. Violence, and also swearing, were thus forms of institutionalised conflict resolution (Thomson 1935, Craig 1979, Langton 1988). For readers seeking a more detailed understanding of these aspects, it is recommended that they read earlier anthropological works, for example Hiatt's (1965) and Williams' (1987) analyses of conflict resolution in Northern Territory communities, Elkin's paper on grievance settlement (1931), and Strehlow's work (1970) on capital punishment.

A number of more contemporary anthropologists eg Riches (1986b), Langton (1988), and Trigger (1988:6–7), have argued that violence is a social phenomenon, an accepted form of social behaviour which is evidenced by the lack of any ethic of completely restraining those individuals in a dispute so as to prevent a fight from escalating (Memmott 1990c:8). This form of social behaviour is further structured and negotiated around kinship ties and social relationships (Langton 1988:211, Trigger 1988:6, Memmott 1990c:8). Following Riches (1986b), Memmott writes (1990c:6) of contemporary fighting behaviour:

Violence has setting, form, purpose and meaning. Forms include both individual and group acts of violence, and range from threats, to assault, to suicide. The properties of violence vary tremendously in different social situations and settings and between different cultures ... Some forms of violence are socially acceptable to a cultural group, whilst others are not, this being dependent on the values and beliefs of the group.

Also at Aurukun, Martin (1992) derived a similar construct of violence. He argues that while the nature and role of contemporary fighting and violence at Aurukun

... can be attributed in part to the effects of ever increasing intervention by the wider society, they are also deeply rooted in cultural values relating to such matters as the high stress on personal autonomy, on appropriate behaviour for each sex, on notions of morality, on how individuals are seen to be related to wider social groupings, on the appropriate expression of emotions such as anger, and how individuals are expected to

act upon the world in order to achieve their ends or redress wrongs done to them (Martin 1988a:16).

An example of drawing upon cultural values is the experience of Hunter (1991a) who found that in a Western Australian community (Balgo), following a spate of violence, the word 'WARRIORS' had been written as graffiti by children on walls in the settlement. He interprets this as a deliberate choice of Indigenous values:

Clearly being identified as violent, as bad 'blackfellows' was a greater source of esteem than the void in which they were otherwise required to live (Hunter 1991a:96).

Similarly, of urban contexts, the Indigenous anthropologist Maria Langton states that contemporary Indigenous fighting behaviour consists of a set of ritualised codes, structured with rules, and derived from traditional fighting behaviour and associated customary law (Langton 1988:201, 210). Elsewhere Langton (1988:202) describes contemporary Aboriginal fighting and feuding as 'appropriate rule-governed behaviour adapted from earlier indigenous patterns to enable meaningful existence in the new political, legal and social situations imposed by the dominant Australian regime.'

What has emerged in many contemporary Indigenous communities is a social climate of violence tolerance, in which there appears to be a continuation of institutionalised violence albeit of a different form, and under vastly changed circumstances.

In addition, those types of violence that are displacing, or replacing, desirable and functional relationships such as those between spouses, between children and parents/adults, between individuals and within families generally, are most definitely unacceptable and desperately need to be addressed. Atkinson, for example, states that the level of Aboriginal male violence towards Aboriginal women reflects a breakdown in customary Aboriginal social order. She states that in some communities, women expect to be bashed and, in fact, do not think that their 'bloke' loves them unless he belts them (Atkinson 1990b:5.).

While it is essential to any analysis of Indigenous violence that a full understanding of the cultural contexts in which violence occurs be understood and stated, it is also important that this does not obscure other aspects of violence, particularly the destruction of individuals, families and communities that has reached endemic proportions in some places. It is thus arguable that whereas some forms of violence may provide acceptable avenues for conflict resolution as they did in traditional times, these forms are discernible and definable by their limits and rules, a level of constraint, often supervised, and most probably the absence of alcohol (especially in large quantities).

It is of relevance to the current interpretation and analysis of Indigenous violence, that the distinction between traditional and other forms of violence, especially 'family violence', be very clearly understood. However, it is apparent from an analysis of the literature reporting court matters, that the perceptions of what constitutes traditional violence vary widely amongst both Indigenous people and lawyers. Some legal perspective studies, for example, draw attention to cases where Aboriginal men have argued that the physical abuse they committed was prescribed by traditional law (eg. Law Reform Commission 1986, McCorquodale 1987, Daunton-Fear and Frieberg 1977 cited in Brady 1990:143-4). Interpretations of this by the judiciary as

well as by community members have varied. However, as Bolger points out, the importance of distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional violence cannot be overlooked:

When discussing violence against Aboriginal women, it should be noted that while it is important to distinguish between traditional and non-traditional violence, in practice it is often difficult to do so. Strictly speaking traditional violence refers to clearly defined and controlled punishments which were applied in cases where Aboriginal Law was broken, many of which are still in use in communities where traditional Law is followed. However, it may sometimes be used to describe violence which is not prescribed by Aboriginal Law but which is condoned as a response to socially disapproved behaviour ...

One result of this [Aboriginal women's changed role today compared with precontact times] is that they are now subject to violence from their own men of a kind which would not have been countenanced in traditional society. As one woman remarked; 'There are now three kinds of violence in Aboriginal society—alcoholic violence, traditional violence, and bullshit traditional violence'. Women are the victims of all three. By 'bullshit traditional violence' is meant the sort of assault on women which takes place today for illegitimate reasons, often by drunken men, which they then attempt to justify as a traditional right (Bolger 1991:4, 50).

Bolger also found in her Northern Territory research that Aboriginal women and some responsible men

... were adamant that much of what is happening today in their communities is in no way traditional. When asked if it was traditional for men to beat their wives, older women were unanimous that it was not and many men who were asked agreed. However, women said that men were working the law 'two ways', invoking either traditional or white law to suit themselves and distorting traditional law in the process (Bolger 1991:50).

Brady (1990) also recalls several legal cases pertaining to domestic violence in which men claimed that it was their right to hit their partner under traditional law. In some cases this was accepted while in others it was disputed, particularly in one case where tribal elders stated that tribal law did not apply to drunks (the offender was drunk at the time) (Bell & Ditton 1980 cited in Brady 1990:143). However other legal cases make no distinction between traditional and non-traditional violence while several researchers take the view that 'it is difficult to accept that wife beating is justified by tribal custom and such suggestions are misleading and defamatory' (Brady 1990:144).

Although the forms and expressions of traditional violence are thus referred to in cases in Indigenous communities such as the above, there is often not the relevant information included in these legal analyses to explain the principles of traditional violence forms and the application of these principles in contemporary contexts. Thus while acknowledging that in many Indigenous communities an extension of the traditional concept and acceptance of fighting behaviour still exists, for example, in the use of violence as payback, and as a way of redressing wrongs, there are other types of violence that should be classified outside of the defined boundaries of traditional violence, for example, child abuse and rape, spousal violence, gang rape, suicide and psychological violence. A further non-traditional aspect that is a major contributing factor to contemporary violence, is alcohol consumption.

Alcohol and violence

The role of alcohol in violence has been analysed in many studies (Hunter 1991a, 1991b, Lyon 1990, Hunter 1990a, 1990b, Brady 1990, Bolger 1991, Atkinson 1991, Kreisfeld *et al* 1995, Martin 1992). The term 'alcohol violence' has been applied by some researchers to violence associated with alcohol consumption. Reser, for example, uses the term and concept 'alcohol-violence' which he argues is 'learnt behaviour', that is, used in various ways as a form of socially expressive or communicative behaviour (in Memmott 1990c:11).

Although alcohol and violence are commonly portrayed as inter-dependant in Indigenous contexts, it must be emphasised that alcohol itself does not cause violence. This is evident in the fact that there are examples of (a) alcohol free Indigenous communities where violence occurs, and (b) Indigenous people who drink alcohol but who are not violent. Similarly, Kreisfeld *et al* (1995:21) state that alcohol abuse in relation to Aboriginal injury is a symptom of things such as poverty, unemployment and the loss of land and culture. However, he states the effects of alcohol-related injury are often so damaging that alcohol is considered as the only cause of the problem (Kreisfeld *et al* 1995:21). What must be recognised and addressed is the strong behavioural parallels between people involved in alcohol abuse and those who are violent towards their families and their relationship with their community and the outside world (Atkinson 1991:6). Martin states 'excessive alcohol consumption and violence together in some areas of Aboriginal Australia are becoming intrinsic dimensions of an emergent, if problematic, contemporary culture'. This statement recognises a problem of epidemic proportion. (Martin 1992:175, see also Reser 1990a, 1990b, Atkinson 1991:5-6 and Bolger 1991:45-49.)

Without intervention and without healing and recovery from the long-term effects of the underlying longitudinal causes of violence impacting on Aboriginal people as well as the situational and precipitating factors, cycles of inter-generational violence will continue to be perpetuated and alcohol will continue to be used as a way to avoid dealing with these problems. Given the high levels of destruction that correlate directly with alcohol violence, such as increased levels of violence on pay days when more money is spent on alcohol, a more apt definition and deeper understanding of alcohol violence is required as a violence category that incorporates a combination of situational and causal factors as well as underlying issues.

Alcohol violence in Indigenous communities is generated from the integration of a certain type of drinking behaviour, with alcohol as a coping strategy, and with a set of cultural elements which have their origins in traditional cultures but which is occurring under vastly changed circumstances, at unacceptably high rates. As Reser states:

What has emerged in many Aboriginal communities and families is a 'culture' of alcohol and violence in which excessive alcohol consumption is used as an individual and collective way of coping with a spectrum of conflicts, contradictions, and stressors. Such a coping response has devastating psychological and social costs, and interferes with, indeed often precludes, the development of more adequate individual and community coping and problem-solving strategies. The magnitude of the alcohol and violence problem in Aboriginal communities is exacerbated by a cultural base, that is, a set of cultural assumptions, shared meanings, and institutionalised behaviour patterns which is distorted and caricatured by the chronic heavy drinking on the part of a substantial proportion of the community. This 'base' includes emotional expression and

communication, constructions of self and relatedness, an emotion-based and social style of coping with distress and problem solving, traditional models of justice and reciprocity, and social control and conflict resolution mechanisms. These are areas of important and consequential cultural differences, both traditional and contemporary, which make a difference with respect to the individual and community impact of alcohol use and abuse (Reser 1990a:54,55).

Martin (1992:175) similarly states:

... that patterns of alcohol consumption cannot be separated from culturally based notions including the social nature of drinking; the socially-ascribed meanings that accompany such behaviour, particularly sharing and reciprocity, and the cultural modes for the expression of emotions and the use of alcohol to express feelings to others which would be suppressed when sober.

Reser and others (eg Brady 1990, Martin 1992), drawing on the wider literature for Indigenous Australia, argue that unaccountability is a key component of a widely-held construct of 'drunkenness' amongst Indigenous people. People believe that they are not to be held responsible or accountable when they are drunk. This view shows how alcohol violence as unchecked and unrestrained is contrary in form to traditional violence:

Hence not only is one expected to act 'wild' and 'crazy' and aggrieved, but in addition no one is likely to be held accountable for his or her actions. Such a situation, of course, fuels numerous, emotionally-charged altercations when drinking. The situation is compounded in communities and settlements where individuals come to essentially write themselves off for several days or weeks, and in the context of binge drinking in Aboriginal communities (Reser 1990a:27).

These circumstances may then lead to unchecked violence against others and self in which the cultural role of alcohol encourages grievances to come to the fore, but which at the same time may permit the suspension of traditional customs and rules of conduct.

It is significant that there appears to be a substantial cultural elaboration of expressed anger in an Aboriginal context, and that these cultural forms and meanings are intertwined with 'being drunk', a state which fosters the recollection of past wrongs, the expression of anger, and the seeking of redress (with relative impunity) (Reser 1990a:29).

Dealing with alcohol violence in Indigenous communities or trying to reduce it, is no easy task. Few tried and tested, culturally-relevant programs aimed at prevention and re-education are in existence. A public health model proposed in one of the RCIADIC reports (see also Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody National Report, 1991e, chapter 15) suggests that alcohol-prevention programs need to focus on (i) the drinker, (ii) knowledge, attitudes and behaviour including the availability and promotion of alcohol, and (iii) the physical and social environments within which the drinking occurs and within which the drinker lives. This approach is consistent with processes that enable people to increase control over their lives and to ultimately improve their health. It also places alcohol-related problems and their prevention at the community level (Royal Commission Into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991d:275).

Nevertheless, services need to be provided for the victims of alcohol violence as well as the perpetrators. At a public meeting in Brisbane on Aboriginal violence on 19 November 1998,

convened by Mrs Leneen Forde (Queensland's former Governor), it was stated by some Aboriginal women that men who assault and sexually abuse women are subsequently looked after better in gaol (three meals a day, exercise, medical services etc.) than the abused women who remain in remote communities without adequate medical care and various basic needs.

Community developments regarding the expansion of alcohol outlets, or the construction of new ones, need to be carefully considered as they have implications for violence issues within the community. Processes need to be put in place whereby decision making about such developments involves community members who are concerned about alcohol and violence, as well as representatives of other community agencies, such as police, health and education (Gladman *et al* 1997:8). The reliance on alcohol outlets as a major source of income for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander councils that is taking place in remote communities, is a problem and there is a need to explore alternative and innovative sources of income (Gladman *et al* 1997:8). The reader is referred to d'Abbs (1990) on issues pertaining to the restriction of alcohol in Aboriginal communities and relevant forms of State legislations.

Suggestions regarding community alcohol outlets and alcohol violence made at the public meeting in Brisbane convened by Mrs Leneen Forde, were as follows:

- alcohol should be banned by government in Indigenous communities [this suggestion was dismissed due to the potential for increasing 'sly grog' and thereby perpetrating another pattern of drinking and violence]
- shelters for women and children should not be located near alcohol outlets
- alcohol outlets should be closed on welfare payment days to ensure some of this money is spent on food for families
- alcohol outlets to also serve meals or operate as food outlets
- adequate funding be made available to community councils so they do not have to rely on alcohol outlets takings for income
- liquor licensing laws be better stated and enforced in communities so that intoxicated people cannot continue to be served alcohol

The problems of alcohol violence and alcohol consumption in Aboriginal communities are complex and not easily solved. It is well known in communities and continuously stated that alcohol consumption is a huge problem. Anyone stating simply that alcohol is the only problem, or that taking away the alcohol will solve all the problems, is not only misunderstanding and simplifying the nature of violence, but assuming that Indigenous people are incapable of realising themselves that alcohol is a problem. Taking away alcohol will not solve violence problems in Indigenous communities. At best, this will reduce them, and at least the introduction of some form of alcohol management strategy should be considered by and for all Aboriginal communities, where consumption is associated with the expression of violence.

We argue that the extent of alcohol consumption in a community, and the extent of violence being committed and experienced by members of that community, is a direct reflection of the collective emotional and psychological damage that has been caused to the individuals of that community and which collectively may manifest as 'dysfunctional community syndrome'. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Powerlessness and helplessness amongst Indigenous men

The RCIADIC found that the psychological issues that often characterised the emotional and mental state of deaths in custody victims included powerlessness, helplessness, alienation, anger, etc. The violence literature of the 1990s continues to associate these characteristics with the male perpetrators of violence in Indigenous communities.

Judy Atkinson (1996a:8) states:

I am ... aware of young men with no power except that which they enforce over young women of their acquaintance, who move in and out of correctional institutions because they are not receiving the help they need.

These are the 'disaffected, alienated, angry young men' referred to by Martin (1988b:15) who are described as creating 'tinderbox situations in remote communities'.

It has been reported that the increase in self-mutilation in the Kimberley from 1961 to 1981 paralleled a trend in increasing incidents of convictions of Aboriginal males for sexual assault across Western Australia: from 48 to 490 per 100,000 representing a ten-fold increase (Broadhurst 1987:167 in Hunter 1990b:273). It was suggested that this increase may also be, in part, a response to the perceived powerlessness of young men.

For young men, often regardless of talent or education, the options are extremely limited. The high rates of pregnancy for young Aboriginal females ... may be protective, both in terms of providing an avenue to the economic resources of maternal benefits denied to males, and access to motherhood, an ego-ideal valued by the majority culture (Hunter 1990b:272).

In contrast to men's declining status, the status of women in post-traditional communities is thus noted by some to be increasing. This was reported by Gale (1978:2) who wrote that it was not uncommon to find Aboriginal women in positions of both dominance within the family and leadership in the community. By contrast, she states:

many Aboriginal man have lost both their status and their self-respect. The path now followed by so many of the men, from hotel to gaol, is but an inevitable consequence of their loss of status and purpose-society (Gale 1978:2).

In some cases, men's helplessness is perpetuated by their reliance on women for access into a cash economy. In the 1970s, Indigenous women as mothers and invalids were the first to receive welfare benefits and thus brought significant economic resources into their communities. For Indigenous men dispossessed of their own roles as economic providers and ritual leaders, access to and reliance on women continues to be of significant importance (Hunter 1990b:272), despite men's access to welfare payments through unemployment benefits or the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP).

As Bolger states (1991:53), while Indigenous women may traditionally have been more independent than their non-Indigenous sisters, gender imbalances continue to persist today. A specific factor that contributes to this is:

... the ability of men to use force, in the final analysis, to preserve male dominance in ideology, in structures and relationships. This was so in traditional times and remains so, but in vastly changed circumstances (Langton 1989:8).

Furthermore, these conflicts over power and control are reflected in an environment that is becoming increasingly dangerous. This is impacting further on Indigenous women whose increasing vulnerability to violence is reflected in the acting out of anger by men in response to their diminished power and sense of powerlessness generally within Indigenous societies (Hunter 1990b:274).

For example, Hunter (1990b) suggests that a factor which he defines as 'cultural exclusion' is impacting severely on Indigenous men in particular and providing another precipitating factor for the expression of violence. He has suggested that Aboriginal people, particularly in northern Australia, are prevented through 'cultural exclusion' from realising the ideals of the dominant culture by lacking the means—linguistic, educational, economic and political—for manoeuvring within the mainstream power structure (Hunter 1990b:272).

In a system [of welfare dependency] that discourages substantial upward mobility, stifles dissonance and prevents total collapse, Aborigines of isolated Australia are suspended, immobile, powerless and contained.

Another author takes this point further, highlighting the crisis of identity being experienced by Indigenous male youth and its contributory role in violent situations.

Aboriginal youth are vulnerable to profound crises of identity which generate insecurity and a tendency to develop highly possessive and exclusive inter-personal relationships. These relationships compensate for the fragmentation, uncertainty and unpredictability of community and family life and are aggressively policed (National Crime Prevention 1999:10).

This, combined with the circumstances that prevail in many communities as a result of the historical dispossession of land and leadership, leave men feeling that they have few options:

... anomie, poverty and the rigours of the struggle to survive, allow Aboriginal men to use force, arbitrarily, to inhibit and terrorise women, and to cast them as whipping posts for their frustrations (Langton 1989 cited in Bolger 1991:53).

Conclusion to section

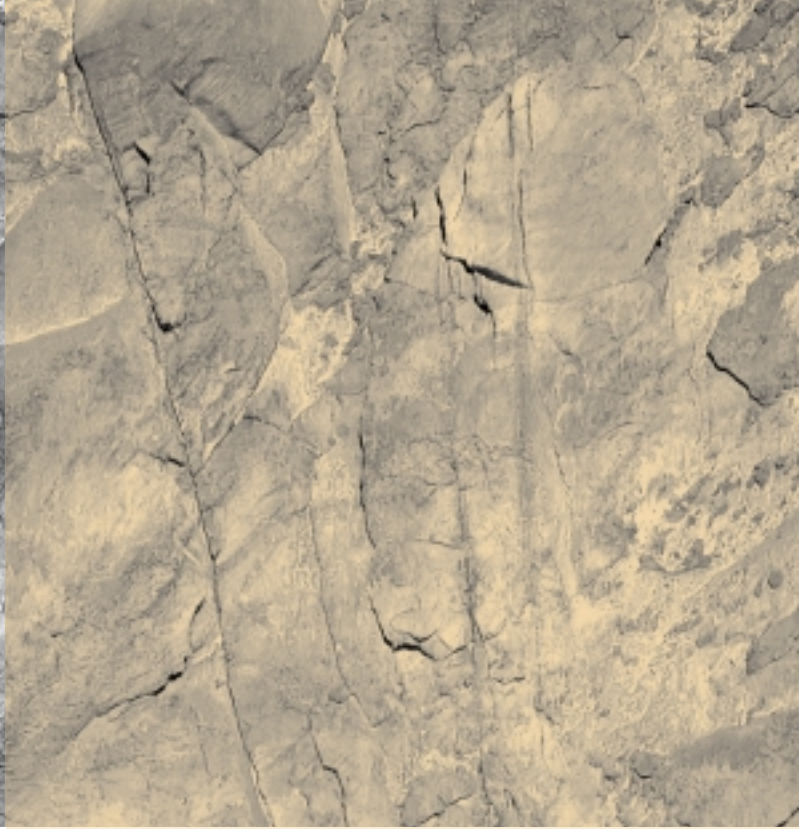
After a reading of the Indigenous violence literature, it is evident to the authors that as a whole it tends to be top-heavy with theory and discussion, and lacks any depth of systematic reporting of empirical evidence on violence. Whether this is because researchers have over relied on other literature sources, statistical data and anecdotal evidence, or whether they have chosen not to make their empirical evidence visible to the public because of ethical reasons, is unclear. The construction of more sophisticated explanatory and causal models of Indigenous violence will depend on collecting and making available more and/or better empirical data on episodes of violence and the underlying issues relevant to violence in specific communities and regions of Indigenous Australia. Although the paradigm of causal factors, is in this sense, not as soundly based as one would hope, and therefore somewhat less accurate, it serves the purpose of allowing a classification of remedial and preventative programs in accordance with these three categories of causal factors (see below). In any case, we are of the view that the highest priority in the campaign against violence in Indigenous communities is the implementation and resourcing of many more community-controlled violence programs rather than research.

The analysis of causal factors into three categories, namely 1. underlying issues, 2. situational factors, and 3. precipitating factors, enables some broad strategies to be formulated to combat violence.

- 1 While underlying issues relate to the past and cannot be changed, their contemporary impacts and consequences may be addressed in a number of ways through the provision of land, housing, health services, education, employment as well as processes of empowerment. In addition, any mechanisms by which the wider non-Indigenous society as a whole may come to a better understanding of the historical dispossession of Aborigines, should be supported.
- 2 Situational factors are such that they are best tackled at the local level by a community council, cooperative or other Indigenous agency. A proactive approach to address these factors could reduce or eliminate many of these aspects. Ways by which this may occur include:
 - ensuring that all Indigenous communities are provided with at least one shelter for women and children who are at risk of violence, or have been violently abused, and that this is provided in consultation with relevant community members, especially violence victims
 - ensuring that all communities have the opportunity for provision of a sobering-up facility and the development of an appropriate group of community members able to operate it
 - ensuring that alcohol awareness and consumption reduction programs are available for implementation in all communities, and that appropriately trained and experienced facilitators are also provided
 - the initiation and invitation of community discussion about all aspects of alcohol consumption including the availability of alcohol through alcohol outlets, in an attempt to generate creative community-directed solutions to alcohol related violence, and the associated problems currently experienced in Indigenous communities

- I governments need to support such local initiatives through provision of resources, amendment of relevant laws (eg liquor licensing laws), and empowerment of community councils to be self-governing.
- 3 Precipitating factors are best tackled at the individual or one-on-one level. Relatives and friends of perpetrators and victims need to provide support and back up, advise on appropriate action to avoid, minimise or resolve conflict, that is, appropriate reactive strategies when violence becomes imminent or prevalent. Counselling and other support services for victims and perpetrators of violence as well as for family members of these people are urgently required in all Indigenous communities. A number of the programs described in Section 4 will directly assist in this regard, if introduced more widely throughout Indigenous Australia.

The review of the literature provides a range of explanations, perspectives and analyses on violence in Indigenous communities. It has been revealed that violence is not only a pathological response to certain factors, factors which highlight the dispossession of Indigenous people, but it is also an indication of cultural values and the contexts in which they exist and prevail.



SECTION 2

Forms of Indigenous violence



Forms of Indigenous

Forms of Indigenous violence

Introduction

The various forms of violence in Indigenous communities will be explored in this section. In selecting types of violence to include here, we have used the definition of Indigenous 'family violence' as set out in Section 1. To reiterate, 'family violence' is characterised by the following:

- family violence may involve all types of relatives. The victim and the perpetrator often have some sort of kinship relation
- the perpetrator of violence may be an individual or a group
- the victim of violence may also be an individual or a group
- the term 'family' means 'extended family' which more technically means a kinship network of discrete intermarried descent groups, and in many such cases 'family' may constitute an entire community
- the 'community' may be remote, rural or urban based; its residents may live in one location or be residentially dispersed, yet behave as a social network
- the acts of violence may constitute physical, psychological, emotional, social, economic and/or sexual abuse
- some of the acts of violence are ongoing over a long period of time, one of the most prevalent examples being spousal (or domestic) violence

Indigenous family violence generally does not appear to include:

- racist violence (refer Cunneen 1997a)
- acts of violence by Indigenous people against non-Indigenous people
- acts of violence by non Indigenous people against Indigenous people
- police brutality
- breaking and entry

These latter forms of violence will not therefore be considered in this report.

On the classification of violence

There is a range of categorisation methods embedded in the literature for distinguishing types of violence:

- based on the method of impacting violence, eg assault, arson, verbal
- based on the nature, extent or anatomical place of injury, eg sexual violence, decapitation, crippling etc
- based on the social context with respect to the perpetrator and victim either by gender or generation, eg rape, self injury, gang violence
- based on a sociological or psychological context, eg suicide, self-harm, harm to others
- based on the situational factors, eg alcohol violence, property violence, neglect violence

Some of these categories have already been discussed in previous sections. None of them, from our viewpoint, represent a satisfactory way of characterising the forms of violence in Indigenous communities. The terms 'personal' and 'interpersonal' violence were also considered as a way of describing violence but are generally too broad as descriptions for our purposes.

The term 'personal violence' is used by Hunter (1991a:89) to describe physical harm, which may, however, include as its object, others or the self. Within this category, Hunter focuses specifically on suicide, self-harm and self-mutilation, whereas violence as spousal or domestic (which fits the definition) is not included in this classification. The term 'interpersonal violence' (sometimes also referred to as 'personal violence') appears to have its origins in the theory of health and medical practice. It appears in studies that identify the causes of different types of injury presenting for treatment at clinics and hospitals (for both Indigenous and non Indigenous cases). In these contexts interpersonal violence is differentiated from injury caused by accident or self harm and other injury types (eg in Kriesfeld *et al* 1995:20).

It is thus apparent that rather than using the terms personal or interpersonal violence, it is more appropriate to use terms which describe more specifically the form of violence being committed. Thus the terms 'spousal violence', 'self-harm', 'child abuse', 'sexual violence', 'self-mutilation', 'suicide' etc can be said to more explicitly define specific types of violence, and go some way towards identifying the victims and perpetrators of violence as well as aspects of the act of violence, than do the terms 'interpersonal' and 'personal' violence.

Nearly all violence studies in the literature made some distinction between the gender of victims and perpetrators of violence, including self-harm victims. Categories most frequently referred to were those of women as victims of family violence and spouse assault, and men as perpetrators of these forms of violence. To a lesser degree studies reflected on the ages of the people studied.

Aside from child abuse and child neglect as a distinct category based on age, the only other main differentiation based on age in the literature was for young men. Young men were also frequently identified as a distinct category, particularly in studies on suicide and other forms of self-harm (Memmott 1990c, Hunter 1990b, 1991b, Gladman *et al* 1997). To these three

categories may now be added grandmothers, infants and young women as victim categories. Further details will be described in the following sections of this section.

We have selected the following forms of Indigenous violence to highlight and describe in this section of the report. They summarise a larger number of violence typologies and terminologies that reflect the research and disciplines from which information has been collated for this report. In summarising these violence forms, we have tried to ensure that all relevant violence types discussed in the literature are covered by this typology.

- 1 spouse assault
- 2 homicide
- 3 rape and sexual assault
- 4 child violence
- 5 suicide
- 6 self injury
- 7 same-sex, one-on-one adult altercations
- 8 inter-group violence
- 9 psychological abuse
- 10 economic abuse
- 11 cyclic violence
- 12 dysfunctional community syndrome

These categories will each be described. It should be noted that categories are not mutually exclusive. They may occur in conjunction, with one form of violence producing another.

In summary, these forms of violence have been named and categorised in the above way for several reasons:

- 1 they reflect the current situation of how Aboriginal violence is occurring in a number of different ways as enacted by different community and family members
- 2 although all these forms of violence may be categorised under 'family violence', this breakdown into more specific forms is necessary for identifying target groups for program implementation
- 3 this classification could be used to evaluate the Indigenous violence programs being undertaken in a community, region or State to determine whether such programs are equitably addressing all of these forms of violence. They provide, in turn, a relevant classification for the design of future programs

1. SPOUSE ASSAULT

It is interesting to note that unlike the case studies on self-harm perpetrators, particularly suicide victims (eg Hunter 1990b, 1991b), little examination is made of the underlying issues which contributed to the mental state and socialisation of the male offenders of spouse violence, other than the immediate circumstances of individual incidents. It is assumed that similar symptomatic pictures would become evident for these men as have been revealed for suicide victims. One difference may be the age group of the two types of offenders.

In studies of Indigenous spouse violence, a number of factors appear consistently across cases, reflecting the complexity of the symptomatic picture of violence among Indigenous people. Those factors identified as commonly characterising cases of spouse violence include:

- alcohol was a contributing factor in many incidents of such violence
- the police had been called on numerous occasions to attend the violent scene. They did not always come, or if they did, they often only stayed until they had quietened down the situation. Often the violence began again after the police departed
- the judicial system was the most common avenue resorted to in trying to stop an offender of violence from reoffending. Most offenders had been incarcerated at least once for their violence
- the victim had taken measures to prevent recurring violent attacks, ie., restraining orders, spending time in a women's shelter or refuge, changing her address, breaking up the relationship
- offenders and victims were involved in relationships characterised by repeated abuse and reconciliation
- in some cases, members of the offender's family were (more) likely to protect him from retribution and even blame the woman
- the violence continued to occur for many years in some cases: in others, it only ended when the victim died through violence

(Atkinson 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1996a:7, Bolger 1991, Gladman *et al* 1997, Koch 1998).

Violence between spouses was the main form of violence assessed in the Northern Territory. Bolger (1991:22) observed that Indigenous women clearly suffered a disproportionate amount of violence with an estimate, on the data available, that there were probably around 6000 incidents of assault on Indigenous women in the Northern Territory per year. This amounted to about one-third of the Northern Territory's Indigenous female population being assaulted each year (Bolger 1991:11). Bolger (1991:14) found that weapons were used in around 50 to 60 per cent of cases of Indigenous spouse attack (her term for 'domestic violence') and that Indigenous women were more likely to be attacked with a weapon than were non-Indigenous women (Bolger 1991:5). Weapons included sticks, rocks, iron bars, knives, spears, guns, firesticks, bottles and ropes which caused bruising, lacerations, burns, broken bones, internal injuries and stab or shotgun wounds.

The precipitating and situational factors causing such abuse were, according to Bolger (1991:38), as follows:

Women were bashed because food was not available; because of sexual jealousy, real or imagined; over money, when they were pregnant; when the man was having an affair; because of women's greater social and economic success. As many women said: 'He just wants to be Boss'.

Spousal assault and violence, particularly by males towards their female partners, was stated throughout the literature as being of major concern, encountered at alarmingly high rates throughout Indigenous Australia and more likely to occur on remote communities. A number of detailed studies dealt specifically with this type of violence (Atkinson 1990a & 1990b, Southside Domestic Violence Action Group 1994, Bolger 1991, Cattalini & Allbrook 1992, Koch 1998).

In addition to high rates of spousal violence, it was also found that many Indigenous communities continue to be under resourced in dealing with this type of violence. Perhaps the extent of violence being committed towards Aboriginal women, largely as spousal assault, is best realised in the following quote:

When the number of Aboriginal people dying in custody was brought to public attention it caused such consternation that the Royal Commission was set up, and rightly so. Yet the fact that Aboriginal women particularly suffer far greater violence in their own communities and are much more likely to be killed and injured in and around their own homes has caused no similar public outrage (Bolger 1991:24).

An important factor in addressing Indigenous violence, and one which obscures the extent of violence, is the under reporting by women of violent spouse abuse (Bolger 1991:11, Lloyd & Rogers 1993:151). Reasons for this include cultural factors as well as shame, fear, helplessness and lack of support (Lincoln & Wilson 1994, Bolger 1991:22, Atkinson 1990a, 1990b).

Women presenting for medical treatment inflicted by spousal assault will often give an alternative reason for the injury cause (Bolger 1991:16–18). In addition to this, a lack of systematic recording by clinics and across hospitals may also obscure the real incidence of violence and injury among Indigenous peoples. Research focused particularly on north-west New South Wales towns and Western Australian rural towns, describes the practices of under policing (or inadequate policing) as perceived by Aboriginal women in particular, who saw an indifference by police towards various acts of violence against Aboriginal women, including domestic violence, rape and murder (Cunneen 1992:88).

Atkinson (1996a) asserts that Indigenous women, in increasing numbers, are questioning the benefit to them of mainstream domestic violence legislation, and its capacity to effect long-term change on Indigenous men and the causes underlying the extent of their violent behaviour. She further states:

However, I am seeing and hearing a rising anger at our men, a sense of frustration and impatience at what seems to be increasing levels of violence. On the other hand I constantly sit with men who are also concerned about male (sometimes their own) behaviours and who voice a rising frustration and concern, asking for support to establish

programs for Aboriginal men who are violent. They are beginning to see that they must also be about the business of de-colonisation (Atkinson 1996a:7).

2. HOMICIDE

Studies on Indigenous homicide have reported that homicide occurs at higher rates among Indigenous people than for the non Indigenous community (Martin 1992:169). Studies also show that Indigenous people are far more vulnerable to homicide, both as offenders and victims than are other Australians. For example, the Australian Institute of Criminology figures for homicide for 1998 show that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people comprised at least 13% of all homicide victims and 17% of all offenders, although they represented only 1.5% of the population as a whole (Australian Institute of Criminology 1998b:14). Strang (1991:–20) states that at the beginning of the 1990s, the national Aboriginal homicide rate was nine times that of the general population. In relation to homicide caused by the spousal assault of women, Duff (1994:38) states that Indigenous women died from domestic violence at a rate 10 times that of non Indigenous women (although the source of Duff's figures is not referenced). This violence is, according to Hunter (1993:152), 'by and large, impulsive and unpremeditated'.

Martin also found that high levels of homicide were not spread evenly throughout the Indigenous population but were more concentrated for Indigenous residents of remote communities (Martin 1992:170). These figures reflect similar patterns of disproportionately high levels of violence and suicide that are coupled with other factors of disadvantage such as reduced life expectancy, and lower employment and educational levels for Indigenous Australia. For example, in the year 1987–88 in the Northern Territory alone, 39 Indigenous deaths were recorded due to homicide and of these 17 were women (Bolger 1991:24).

Another issue pertaining to Indigenous homicide is that the official statistics often exclude certain types of homicide, in particular the deaths of women following long-term spouse violence. In many of these cases the immediate cause of death may be attributed to other factors, for example renal or liver failure, but this obscures a history of long-term violent abuse culminating in death from multiple causes. Bolger (1991:69) details one such case of a woman who was assaulted and violently abused, often in conjunction with alcohol use, over a period of at least five years, during which she was hospitalised seven times, the last being when she died. Her cause of death included renal failure and hepatitis but no physical or other violence was listed. Other reports highlighting similar case studies of prolonged violent spousal abuse causing death include Atkinson (1990a, 1990b), Brady (1990) and Bolger (1991:25–37).

High rates of homicide are also paralleled by high rates of assault among Aboriginal people, indicating a correlation. For example, in the Northern Territory in 1987, 257 offences against Aboriginal women were recorded for murder, attempted murder, assault and sexual assault, out of a total of 1443 offences. This figure represents 17% of the total number of offences, yet Aboriginal women constitute only 11.5% of the total population (Bolger 1991:11). Indigenous homicide is also frequently connected with high rates of alcohol consumption, and high incidence of spousal or family violence (Martin 1992). It was also found that Indigenous women are far more vulnerable to homicide than are white women. The risk of homicide for women as a whole has been calculated as half that for men, but for Indigenous women it has been measured as over 70% of that for Indigenous men (Strang 1991, Martin 1992:170).

One form of homicide that receives little attention in the literature is homicide by arson of the victim's house, either while they are asleep inside or after they have been assaulted and left unconscious inside. Several such cases have come to our attention in the last 10 years in the Northern Territory and Queensland.

3. RAPE AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Rape and sexual assault are two very violent and permanently debilitating forms of abuse that are reported as increasing in frequency and in intensity (eg group rape) in certain Aboriginal communities. One author estimates that over 80% of young Aboriginal girls involved with the criminal justice system have been sexually abused (Atkinson 1990a:23). 'One state claims that almost 50% of Aboriginal children within the court system have been victims of incest, often by a step-father' (Atkinson 1990a:11).

Police department statistics collated by the Criminal Justice Commission in 1998 show that on at least three North Queensland Indigenous communities, women are between 16 to 25 times more likely to be raped than women in the rest of the State (cited in Koch, *The Courier Mail* 31/10/98). A report titled *Aboriginal Women Speak Out*, cited in Atkinson (1990b:11), shows that 90% of rape victims were women and girls, and almost 20% were raped by a group of men (no detail about the geographic location of these statistics is stated). Non Indigenous persons made up 42% of offenders, while 41% were Indigenous. The rate of group rape or 'pack rape' as it is more commonly called, by both categories of males, was 17%. Where the rapist was Indigenous, he often knew the survivor intimately or by sight (Atkinson 1990b:11).

Forms of sexual abuse and assault range from demands for degrading practices to physically violent rape (Bolger 1991:39). Rape can include 'pack rape', homosexual rape, and the rape of grandmothers or elderly women ... all have been reported in Indigenous communities.

Atkinson (1990a, 1990b:10) reports that in some Indigenous communities, rapes have been carried out on drunken women by groups of young boys aged as young as 10 and typically between 10 and 15 years of age. Even more alarming is that young boys have been reported as trading their younger sisters to older boys to pay gambling debts or to purchase alcohol. Young girls as young as eight and often older, have been sexually misused by adult Indigenous and non-Indigenous-men in exchange for beer (Atkinson 1990a, 1990b:11).

In addition, although some rapists and sexual abusers are convicted and imprisoned for their crimes, they eventually return to their home communities where their victims continue to reside. This can result in a repeat of the offence, or at the very least, persistent psychological violence. One case study reported by Koch (2/11/98) described a 19-year-old girl who was 'subjected to a terrifying sexual attack' by her uncle at the age of five. This man was imprisoned for 10 years for his crime, after which he returned to the community where the victim still lived. Then at 15 she was attacked by three men who tried to rape her and broke her collarbone in the attack. They were charged and imprisoned but have also returned to the same community. The young woman has experienced problems in her own family, having been rejected by alcoholic parents at five and reared by her grandmother. Her only brother is incarcerated and one of her cousins hanged herself at 16 because she was upset by her parents' alcohol consumption and continual arguments. Lack of finances and opportunity

prevent this girl from being able to leave her community although this is apparently all she now wants for herself and her two-year-old child (Koch 2/11/98, 6/11/98, 7/11/98, 12/11/98.) This case is said to be unexceptional, and is similar to the experiences of many Indigenous women in Queensland Indigenous communities (Spence 1998).

One notable feature of case studies (eg Atkinson 1990a, Bolger 1991, Koch 6/11/98, 2/11/98, 31/11/98) is that incidents of rape and violence are occurring in association with other situational factors such as alcoholism, spousal violence, poor community facilities, lack of education, support services and resources etc.

The under-reporting of rape by Aboriginal women and the difficulties faced by rape victims giving evidence in court are two related issues which were emphasised in the literature (eg Lloyd & Rogers 1993:153, Bell & Nelson 1989:404, Atkinson 1990a:23). Lloyd and Rogers (1993:153) for example, state that Indigenous women giving evidence in court may be easily intimidated by authority figures, shy of white people, and come from a cultural background where sexual matters are not discussed in mixed company let alone to officers of the court. Atkinson (1990a:23) has stated that 88% of Indigenous rape and assault cases go unreported. On Palm Island (Queensland), rape and assault were the most commonly under-reported offences (Barber *et al* 1988 in Hunter 1991a:89).

Many contexts in which rape or sexual assault occurs make the reporting of such violence difficult, eg in small communities where everyone knows one another, or where there are close relationships between the victim and the perpetrator (Greer & Breckenridge 1992:192). Another factor in the under reporting of rape (and other crimes) is the fear that this will lead to imprisonment of the offenders, thereby placing them at risk of dying in custody (Greer & Breckenridge 1992:193).

4. CHILD VIOLENCE

Child violence covers a range of forms of violence including child neglect, incest, child assault by adult carers, paedophilia, and rape of infants by youths.

In 1988, Martin (1988b) described incidents of child neglect and abuse, including sexual abuse, that were occurring on remote reserve communities. He reported that young children were increasingly being exposed to sexual abuse in most cases by adolescent boys and more often on 'canteen days' (for example, days when the community alcohol outlet was operating), when they were often left unsupervised or when they chose to stay away from home to avoid potential domestic disputes. In one community, it was stated that there were probably 10 to 15 males involved in sexual abuse against children with one male on 69 charges for this type of violence (Cowburn 1990:4). Neglect of children by their caregivers was also reported to be widespread, sometimes to the extent of causing marginal malnutrition, but often resulting in children coming to school unfed, undernourished and lacking concentration. School attendance for example was as low as 50% on some days following nights of heavy drinking and violence by family or other community members (Miller 1990a:8, 1990b:36, Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force 1988:260).

At Aurukun, Martin (1988b) argued that the developmental problems of both young male adults and children threatened the future of the community as a viable social entity. The same could

be said of many other communities in which the alcohol outlet has become the focus of daily life. Observations at Doomadgee suggest that this problem is not just confined to communities with alcohol outlets. Child neglect was reported at Doomadgee where adults pooled their money to charter planes to obtain alcohol for consumption in 'outside drinking style' (that is, drinking just outside the community where it was banned).

This evidence supports the theory that the inter-generational problems are reverberating forwards in time, from parents to children, from older siblings to younger ones. The reports cited, however, are confined to the Queensland reserve communities (or Deeds of Grant in Trust Communities). Still other areas of concern expressed in the literature are (a) forms of child prostitution, (b) high rates of Aboriginal juvenile offending, and (c) exposure of children to pornographic videos (Miller 1990b:37–39).

While some attention has been given in the literature to examining the issues of child abuse in Indigenous communities, it is apparent that this type of violence has attracted far less attention than other types of violence such as domestic violence, deaths in custody, self-harm and suicide. One obvious reason for this is that children are in an even more vulnerable position than abused adults to be able to speak out about their experiences of abuse and neglect. What is more likely is that children react in other ways, such as becoming perpetrators of violence themselves or finding alternative means of physical support such as stealing food and other items, and using substances such as alcohol and drugs. Other effects of neglect and child abuse are the removal of children from their family and in some cases their community, as well as the development of long-term psychological and emotional problems which can often prevent them from ever experiencing normal or functional social and family life again.

Attention should be drawn to children as a category who are affected by socialisation in violent families and violent communities. While some children are less the victims of injury from physical violence, the effects of emotional and psychological violence and the witnessing of many violent incidents impact severely on children. Atkinson writes:

Our women repeatedly ask that we find ways of helping heal children who have witnessed or experienced violence in the home. Grandmothers, in particular are despairing for their grandchildren, who are being expelled from schools at increasing levels for violent behaviours. In fact the child's violence is an expression of traumatised, a cry of distress at what they have seen and experienced in the context of intergenerational trauma (Atkinson 1996a:7).

Obvious types of child abuse and neglect include physical, sexual and emotional abuse whereas less obvious ones including lack of effective parenting, withdrawal of support and love, domestic violence, failure to provide adequate medical care and cultural deprivation were all listed as contributing to child abuse and neglect. A general definition proposed by the Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC), which is Australia's only national Indigenous children's care council, was that child abuse and neglect for Aboriginal people is 'any form of action that results in the well-being of the child being threatened or leading to actual harm ... This includes practices leading to the denial of Aboriginality of children' (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:4). SNAICC argues (1996:5) that other more indirect, but nevertheless pervasive, causes of child abuse and neglect have included: (i) the failures of governments and the prevalence of certain societal

factors in the creation [and perpetuation] of 'dysfunctional families' syndrome and in denying the cultural needs of Aboriginal children, and (ii) the factors of dispossession, racism, powerlessness, hopelessness and poverty which were also identified as stresses experienced by Aboriginal families and which may lead to, or contribute to, child abuse or neglect.

SNAICC (1996:5–7) identified a further 29 factors which contribute to child abuse and neglect. These may be classified using our categories of underlying issues and precipitating factors. They include such things as breakdowns in traditional society, inadequate housing, gambling, poverty, racism, lack of proper parenting and child rearing skills, a lack of initiatives by communities to deal with child abuse and neglect, and a shortage of Aboriginal extended family carers and foster carers (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:5–7; also refer Butler 1992:16–17). To understand issues of child rape and abuse, we cannot overlook socio-historical factors such as the numerous cases of sexual abuse experienced by Indigenous children in State care that were revealed in the findings of the Stolen Generation Inquiry (eg Bird 1998, confidential evidence numbers 404, 533, 557, 64, 540, pp 30–83).

Butler (1992:19) remarked in 1992 that funding for new or additional services/programs through the Aboriginal and Islander Child Care Agency (AICCA) had been frozen since 1986. In 1999, it was of major concern that the current authors found no Indigenous programs aimed at addressing the rape and other abuse of children.

One further type of violence about which there has been very little written to date is the rape and sexual abuse of very small children. Recent discussions with members of two northern communities by two of the authors (Stacy and Memmott) during the months of the production of this report, revealed that violence in this form is being committed in these and other remote communities. The incidents that were drawn to our attention were the rape of an eight-month-old baby in one community, and the rape of a three-year-old in another community. Further attention was drawn to the incidence of this type of violence in Queensland during 1998 in a number of well-researched articles by journalist Tony Koch (Koch 1998 31/10/98, 2/11/98, 3/11/98). He reported that approximately 30 cases of child rape and abuse from remote Queensland communities were currently before the courts, and that of a number of actions for compensation, seven were victims of violent assault, rape and sodomy as children under the age of seven. Another of these articles which refers to a 19 year old woman who was subjected to a 'terrifying sexual attack' at the age of five shows this type of violence has already been occurring for more than a decade. Yet another examines the case of 17-month-old child.

Throughout the course of this survey it has been made apparent to us that the severity and extent of this kind of violence may be increasing in Indigenous communities. However it is difficult to determine the accuracy of these suppositions because of an absence in the violence literature of any empirical studies specifically targeting this type of violent act. Initial studies conducted during the 1990s by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (1990–1991), the results of which were obtained by the authors, indicate that rates of child abuse and neglect amongst Indigenous people are disproportionately high when compared to those of the wider Australian population. The most recent report, for 1994–95, reveals that when comparing rates for 0–16 year olds in substantiated cases of abuse, Indigenous children suffer at a rate almost three-and-a-half times greater than other children (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 1994–95:17).

While these studies do provide some statistical information on the nature of child abuse, dividing incidents into either a physical, emotional or sexual category, they do not present data regarding severity.

The impact of violence on children is having considerable consequences for the future of Indigenous families and communities. The witnessing and experiencing of violence from a young age was shown to manifest later in life as being strongly associated with both a desensitisation towards violence and a predisposition towards becoming violent in one's own relationships (National Crime Prevention 1999:3). The inability for various reasons, of a child abuser or neglecter, to deal with his or her own social, emotional and other problems, has been identified as a contributing factor to the perpetuation of a cycle of abuse (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:5).

5. SUICIDE

Studies on suicide are often carried out in their own right (for example, Hunter 1991b, Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1998), but are also typically addressed from within the area (or discipline) of health as a part of a category of self-harm or self-injury (Gladman *et al* 1997, Moller *et al* 1996, Hunter 1990b). Given the high rates of suicide in some Indigenous communities (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1998, Hunter 1991a, 1991b), it is arguable that much more work should be targeted specifically at reducing suicide. Studies of self-harm (for example, self-laceration, punching glass windows, etc) offer some understanding and reveal patterns of behaviour associated with the desire to commit suicide. However, while high rates of self-harm must be addressed, the increasing losses of young people from Indigenous communities require the most urgent attention.

Dr Ernest Hunter (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1998) states 'a whole lot of problems [among Indigenous people] mirror dispossession but nothing so much as suicide.' Suicides in the Indigenous population are almost exclusively carried out by young adult males (Hunter 1990b:268, Kriesfeld *et al* 1995). Other alarming and associated facts pertaining to suicide include the following:

- Tatz (pers. comm. in Hunter 1991a:90) found that between July and December 1989 only two of the 57 Indigenous communities throughout Australia with which he had contact, did not record a suicide or attempted suicide
- on Palm Island in the late 1980s, there were 1.25 suicides a month for a population of 1800 people (Barber *et al* 1989 cited in Hunter 1991a:89)
- in the past five years on one North Queensland community it was reported that 'there have been four incidents where drunken men have come into the bar and blown their heads off with rifles or shotguns' (Koch 1998, 7/11/98)

The longitudinal influences that culminated in the suicides of Aboriginal people investigated during the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody have been set out in the previous section. More recently, Gladman *et al* (1997) reported that when young men commit violence there are underlying causes and factors which differentiate this violence from that of older men. Suicide, for example, is far more likely to be committed by young men than any other age or gender group in Aboriginal communities (Hunter 1991a:92). Typical factors

affecting the experiences of young men are the breakdown of social structure and kinship, loss of religious practices, loss of spirituality, loss of hope, and extermination of cultural heritage, all of which were identified in the RCIADIC reports as contributing to violence in Indigenous communities.

The transition from boyhood to manhood in traditionally-orientated communities is structured around the institution of initiation, which is controlled and conducted by a core group of male elders who themselves were socialised in the same way. For many young men today, there is a distinct lack of healthy, functional role models for the transition into manhood. For these young men, the majority of their fathers, uncles, grandfathers and great-grandfathers were brought up on missions, in dormitories, and/or were sent to work for pastoralists as youths and many experienced violence as a basic part of their lives.

Hunter (1991b) has documented how, from the early 1970s, the Kimberley region of Western Australia has been experiencing a sustained rise in the proportion of suicides that are being carried out almost exclusively by young Aboriginal males:

- up to 1969 there was only one recorded suicide among Aboriginal people in the region
- from 1969 until 1979 there were three suicides
- in the following 10 year period (1980s) there were 21 suicides, of which all except two were males and all except two were committed outside of custody (Hunter 1990b:268, Hunter 1991a, 1991b)

The ABC's Four Corners reporters interviewed various members of the Aboriginal community in the Kimberley about youth suicide for their program of 25/10/1998. A Kimberley youth worker stated many young people 'have nothing else to turn to except drugs and alcohol. These are the only way they can express themselves.' The ABC also reported alarmingly high rates of suicide in the Kimberley region during the last eight or nine years. These included:

- 34 suicides in the region in the 1990s (up to 1998)
- during 1994–98 in the community of Beagle Bay (near Broome, a mission until the early 1970s), there were 15 suicide attempts over five years, five of which had been successful, all by men aged between 17–25. The population of this community is a few hundred. Over a three-day period in this community, there had been two suicides and one attempted suicide
- among under-12 year-olds in the Kimberley in 1998 there had been at least eight serious incidents involving attempted suicides or other equally violent events

Problems stated as experienced by young people included depression, problems with girlfriends, the sense of not belonging, not being understood by parents, elders and other family members, and not being given a fair go by family and community. As stated by one young person, 'That's when they go "Oh fuck it, nobody care for me. I'll go and hang myself then we'll see who'll be laughing or crying."' This evidence clearly highlights suicide as a form of family violence.

Another related phenomenon reported in the RCIADIC literature was the 'copy-cat' male suicide syndrome where in a few communities, a suicide by a young man set off a chain of similar suicides. Unfortunately, this syndrome persists and has become endemic in some remote Queensland communities, where, at the time of writing, attempted, or actual suicides, occur as frequently as once every few months.

6. SELF-INJURY

Studies on non traditional self-harm/self-mutilation were written as early as 1982 when Sturgess and Brennan (health workers) prepared a report for a barrister defending a young Aboriginal man who had killed his de facto wife on a Queensland reserve. The authors found that the evidence of self-mutilation and violence to loved ones is a clear statement that [the perpetrator] and his contemporaries often see life on reserves as worthless (Sturgess & Brennan 1982:46 in Hunter 1990b:263).

Hunter (1991b) found that amongst men the pattern of self-harm or self-inflicted violence was (i) that it was intentional, male initiated and directed at self or partner/spouse, (ii) alcohol was frequently associated, and (iii) it is occurring almost entirely within the intracultural domain. He also reported that suicidal behaviour was uncommon among traditionally orientated groups (Eastwell 1988 in Hunter 1991a, Hunter 1990a:268). This last assertion is not true of the 1990s, as we find communities in the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Kimberley experiencing multiple suicides.

Research in the Kimberley region revealed that among self-mutilators, a prominent pattern was a frequent history of interpersonal loss and unstable relationships, generally involving alcoholic partners, amongst whom violence is characteristic. Incidents of self-harm also frequently occurred in conjunction with 'jealousing'—a term describing a founded or unfounded conviction of infidelity or desire of such, by one's partner (Hunter 1990b:270).

In parts of Queensland and Western Australia, self-mutilation was found to be largely a male phenomenon (Hunter 1990b:264) except among women who were childless or had very few children (Hunter 1990b:265). It was also noted for the Kimberley region that the proportion of Aboriginal deaths from external causes rose among those of the parental generation of people who were demonstrating self-mutilatory and suicidal behaviour in the 1990s. This increase among the parental generation could be linked with the timing of the withdrawal of control by missionaries and State institutions in Indigenous communities during the early 1970s (Hunter 1990b:269). Many self-mutilators were among the first generation to grow up in communities characterised by widespread drinking and welfare dependence (Hunter 1990b:273).

Studies on self-harm and suicide distinguish between violence to self and violence to others, but as some studies suggest, the causes are not necessarily different. What is perhaps of interest is why do some young men violate themselves while others violate their partners? While some of the self-mutilatory practices may reflect an 'emerging subcultural tradition', it does not explain all of them.

Self-harmful behaviours increased in the Kimberley region in the 1980s, with the most dramatic rates being for suicides (Hunter 1988a, 1988b and 1989b in Hunter 1990b:268). In Queensland, the perpetrators of self-harm were recently found to be predominantly male, with young males more likely to commit suicide than males over 30 (Gladman *et al* 1997).

There are an emerging number of studies concerned with the high and increasing rates of incidents of self-harm, particularly suicide whose main victims are young Indigenous men (eg Hunter 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1998). Whereas the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody exposed the high rates of self-harm and suicide

being committed by young incarcerated Aboriginal men during the 1980s in particular, these studies reveal that more young men are dying as a result of self-harm in their own communities. Similarly, studies on Indigenous domestic or family violence, whose victims are overwhelmingly women of all ages, have also revealed that more women are dying in their own communities as a result of violence than are Indigenous people dying in custody. These statements are not designed to minimise the significance of the evidence pertaining to Indigenous deaths in custody (Atkinson 1990b:7) but rather to highlight that even more alarming problems and incidents of violence are occurring within Indigenous communities and for which there have been no Royal Commissions. The literature also reveals that a number of other types of violence are being committed within Indigenous communities.

7. ONE-ON-ONE ADULT FIGHTING (SAME GENDER)

One-on-one adult fighting refers to a traditionally derived form of violence whereby a man fought with another man or a woman fought with another woman (never mixed gender bouts) in a structured duel-like manner, often at a prearranged fighting place and with adjudicators and/or seconds. Weapons were usually spears, boomerangs and/or fighting sticks for men, and for women, fighting sticks. The presence of seconds and adjudicators ensured to some degree that the severity of punishment was kept in scale with the offence. This form of structured fighting was still prevalent on many alcohol-free remote communities in the 1970s (eg see Memmott 1979:101–102, 40–410). Although it continues to occur today, it more commonly occurs in variant forms that are less structured.

A common variant form is to fist fight instead of using weapons, a style of fighting that may well be acculturated, at least in part, from Anglo-Celtic traditions. Numerous variant forms arise due to the presence of alcohol which may result in spontaneous fighting and in any location in a community, and be enacted before there is time to conscript adjudicators or seconds. Alternatively, other intoxicated individuals may join in the fight possibly for little reason at all, and the fight may escalate into a large inter-group conflict or a chain of skirmishes between newly-arriving individuals.

In the 1970s, Memmott (1979:407) reported that intoxicated women's fights of this type were more common at Mornington Island Mission than those between men. In some cases, the fighting between the adults of one gender is an extension of a previous fight between related adults of the opposite gender (eg husbands fight first, then their wives ... once again a customary Indigenous pattern). In contrast, a study in an Alice Springs town camp during a 15-month period in 1975–76 revealed the following breakdown of 'violent encounters' by gender: male-male 13, female-female 3, male-female 42 (Collmann 1988:176).

One-on-one fighting patterns have changed over the last 25 years. For example, in one area of Western Australia, up until about 1970, feuds occurred between a single representative of each family on a one-on-one basis. The following case study from one community explains this further (Chadbourne 1992:7), and shows how this earlier pattern has transformed into less structured and potentially more brutal violence:

... two men would have a fist fight and then have a drink together afterwards; if anyone joined in to make it two or more against one, an elder would intervene and ensure a fair

contest. Another person remembered the days when the elders would draw a big circle and not allow either party to leave it until the dispute was resolved ...

Today a member of one feuding family may be caught alone and assaulted by a group from the opposing family. The victim then gathers a group of supporters and retaliates when one of the protagonists is caught alone. Furthermore, in the old days, fights took place with fists, more or less under Queensbury rules. Today attacks may be made with knives, baseball bats, machetes and iron bars, with no holds barred (Chadbourne 1992:7).

This leads to a consideration of forms of inter-group violence (see next category). However, many one-on-one fights continue to occur in Indigenous communities resulting in regular injuries. It may well be the most common form of Indigenous violence but it is one of the least-reported forms and there is negligible quantitative data available on it.

8. INTER GROUP VIOLENCE

There are several forms of inter-group violence noted as occurring in Indigenous communities over recent decades. For example, inter-group violence can incorporate what Martin referred to at Aurukun as major fights which involve 'some oppositional groups based on region of origin' (Martin 1993:9-10 in Hazlehurst 1995:xix).

A phrase sometimes employed describing certain forms of group conflict is 'reverberating violence'. This describes how a fight can quickly spread as kinspeople are drawn in, either spontaneously or by request, to support both sides and the focus of aggression can move quickly from the original protagonists to others who may be rekindling old grievances. A fight between two individuals may quickly escalate to a fight between several groups in this way. Reverberating violence is fuelled by alcohol in many instances, increasing the volatility and unpredictable character by which the fight spreads.

Another form of inter-group violence is gang violence. This is characterised by gangs of young people, usually men, in urban centres having intermittent conflicts. One case study recorded by one of the authors (PM) in Alice Springs involved two gangs of young men who, although being related through marriage in older generations, maintained regular combat for many years. This was achieved by one gang attacking, usually with knives, one or a few members of the other gang when the former outnumbered the latter. The gang which suffered the casualty would then wait for its opportunity to catch one of the opposite number on his own, and then execute a pay back. In some cases, the stabbings resulted in deaths. This style of violence involves the use of the wider urban fabric as a means of avoidance, retreat and hiding, with the two groups of antagonists typically residing in different suburbs or enclaves of town. This form of violence can also be classified as a feud.

Chadbourne (1992:6) writing about the south-west of Western Australia has described inter family or inter-group feuds that reverberate through the years, triggered from time to time by what might in themselves be trivial incidents or remarks.

In other words, what often triggers the violence is not so much the incident or remark itself but the memory it revives of things that have happened in the past. This occurs when long-held grudges are activated, when there has been a history of feuding between

the families involved, and when the aggrieved party feels the need for a payoff. Thus, while the incident or remark that triggers the violence may appear trivial, the meaning placed upon it can be quite substantial.

Inter-group violence may thus take on a number of forms and structures in Indigenous communities. Once again there is little research on this form of violence.

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE

Psychological abuse may take the form of threats, constant denigration and undermining of another person. Under this category, the authors include verbal abuse. Taken to its extreme, the victims of this type of violence live in constant fear and stress.

An example of psychological violence experienced by some Indigenous women may be found in the following case study, cited in Atkinson (1996a:7). The case describes a woman who left her husband, after being repeatedly bashed by him, and after several court orders had been issued for his attacks on her. Members of his family then repeatedly visited and threatened her, claiming that she and her children (who were also his children) had to return to him as he was threatening to kill her. The husband's family, it was revealed, were also traumatised by the separation and were fearful that he would carry out his threats. They had recently lost another son to suicide, and a third had died in a motor vehicle accident. While it was apparent to the woman that the verbal threats of her spouse's family may have been an off-loading of their own stress and a way of mitigating their son's behaviour, by blaming her, this did not alleviate the psychological violence. The violence brought about her feelings of terror, anger and powerlessness and a fear for the safety of herself and her children.

Although other cases of similar scenarios of psychological violence may be gleaned from the violence literature, overall it is apparent that this form of violence is under-researched and under-represented. Reasons for this could include (a) the unlikelihood of it being reported to police, (b) it is less tangible than physical violence, (c) one avenue by which it may be revealed—through a counsellor—is rarely available on remote communities, (d) the belief by Indigenous victims that this is unpreventable, so it is not reported, and (e) a degree of acceptance of this, and other forms of violence, by people who witness violence on a daily basis.

10. ECONOMIC ABUSE

Economic abuse involves the withdrawal or extraction of money or goods as a way of hurting somebody (Bolger 1991:6). This type of abuse is common where welfare payments are used to buy alcohol instead of food, leaving other family members without basic resources. Other forms of violence and crime (for example, children stealing money and food) may stem from this. Bolger's (1991) report on Aboriginal women and violence gives a number of case studies on economic abuse which amount to a variety of means whereby money which, intended for an individual's or family's basic needs, is used (in most cases) for alcohol or gambling.

The case studies include examples of sons demanding money from mothers, husbands demanding money from wives, and grandmothers and elderly women being threatened with

beating by sons and grandsons if they did not hand over money. Most often it is the community elders who suffer, those who traditionally would be held under the highest respect. This appears to be another category of violence that is increasing. A common scenario is seeing people lining up for pension or pay cheques, and relatives waiting outside to take their money (Bolger 1991:29–32). The loss of money by some families to alcohol and gambling puts pressure on other families to provide food for them, which in turn often limits the ability of those families to provide food for their own children and grandchildren (Bolger 1991:29–32).

Expressions of violence towards self and others on the part of men was viewed partly as a result of their greater economic deprivation, in comparison to women. Welfare payments are more readily and reliably accessed and are greater for women with children than for men. This further supports the woman's role in the family and community as primary caregiver. This explanation was further substantiated by the research findings of Hunter (1990b:273) in the Kimberley, that amongst the most disadvantaged and powerless people, namely, unemployed heavy-drinking males and similarly vulnerable childless women, living at the periphery of the dominant culture, acts of non-traditional self-mutilation are increasing. This, Hunter stated, reflects the increasing phenomena of an entrenched asymmetry of economic power encouraging conflict over the control of scarce resources.

11. CYCLIC VIOLENCE

As Atkinson observes, endemic family violence over a number of generations means that:

Violent behaviours become the norm in families where there have been cumulative intergenerational impacts of trauma on trauma on trauma, expressing themselves in present generations as violence on self and others (Atkinson 1996a:7).

Growing up with parents who were alcoholics, domestic violence was a major problem. Every time my parents were drunk they used to fight, each time it would be worse than before. Every time the neighbours or one of us kids would ring the police they'd come for only a few minutes and calm our parents down. No sooner would they leave our parents would be fighting again. It got worse and my brothers started to be away from home ... me and my brothers dropped out of school and my brothers started to get into trouble with the law and were sent to institutions (Beyond These Walls p. 255 cited in Atkinson 1990b:10).

In her exploration of domestic violence among Indigenous people, Atkinson found feminist explanations of violence against women and children to be inadequate. In response, she turned to the theory of disaster trauma which provided an alternative framework using the notion of intergenerational trauma to interpret and locate violence among Indigenous people (pers. comm. J. Atkinson). The concept of the cycle of violence is discussed by other authors. Blagg (National Crime Prevention 1999:8), for example, states that the concept provides a metaphor for understanding the cultural ways in which the transmission of destructive patterns of self-abuse and violent behaviours occur in Indigenous communities, as well as the inter-generational component. It also serves to emphasise 'the extent to which the aggression and violence are transmitted through social and cultural processes, rather than simply emerging "out of the blue"' (National Crime Prevention 1999:8).

12. DYSFUNCTIONAL COMMUNITY SYNDROME

This can be defined as a situation whereby multiple violence types are occurring and appear to be increasing over generations, both quantitatively (numbers of incidents) and in terms of the intensity of violence experiences, for example, victims of sexual abuse include very small children; pack rape is being committed by boys as young as 10 years old.

A typical cluster of violence types in such a dysfunctional community would be male-on-male and female-on-female fighting, child abuse, alcohol violence, male suicide, pack rape, infant rape, rape of grandmothers, self-mutilation, spouse assault and homicide. This is characteristic of some of the remote reserve communities in Queensland (Atkinson 1990:15, n.d.14).

Such communities need to be viewed as in states of dire emergency. As the violence increases, the problems of psychological harm, and of arresting and treating the violence across generations, become more complex and will require increasing resources.

Conclusion to section

‘Violent behaviour is learned behaviour, acquired within a social context which shapes and legitimates its usage’ (National Crime Prevention 1999:8). Violence may be instrumental as well as expressive to achieve certain ends, such as asserting power over another person through a variety of means. Thus violence can take different forms within the society in which it is shaped and perpetuated, including physical, emotional, psychological, social, sexual, verbal and/or economic abuse and assault.

This section has provided background information on the nature and distribution of a number of characteristic forms of violence which are, according to the literature (and other observations), typically prevalent in some or many Indigenous communities. These forms of violence are:

- 1 spouse assault
- 2 homicide
- 3 rape and sexual assault
- 4 child violence
- 5 suicide
- 6 self-injury
- 7 one-on-one adult altercations (same gender)
- 8 inter-group violence
- 9 psychological violence
- 10 economic abuse
- 11 cyclic violence
- 12 dysfunctional community syndrome

Of the above categories, there is an ample or abundant literature on spouse assault, homicide, rape and sexual abuse, violence towards children, suicide and self-injury, but a considerable lack of literature on inter-group violence, psychological abuse, economic abuse, cyclic violence and dysfunctional community syndrome.

Cyclic violence and dysfunctional community syndrome are categories which describe more complex and larger-scale forms of family violence, the former being a series of violence episodes repeated across generations, while the latter is a state of simultaneous occurrence of multiple forms of violence in a community.

In the next section we shall examine whether this set of categories is useful in evaluating how current Indigenous violence programs are dealing with such a diversity of violence forms.

Aboriginal men, women and children are hurting. In some communities, both urban and remote, the nature, severity and extent of violence is such that it is beyond the understanding of those it affects the most. Women cannot see any options but to accept the violence, for it is their own kin involved. The future looks bleak for many of these women and in talking to them, it is clear they feel a sense of real powerlessness and helplessness, and shame (Atkinson 1990b:13-14).



SECTION 3

Violence programs in Indigenous communities



Violence programs in Indigenous communities

Program profiling

The people and organisations contacted during the course of this survey of violence programs and the nature and extent of that contact are described briefly in Appendix 1 of this report. The following information was sought in the form of a two-page profile for each violence program.

- 1 contact details of agency/group
- 2 agency that delivers the program
- 3 name of the violence program
- 4 history of the program, including funding sources, program success and details of program evaluation
- 5 target group(s) and type(s) of violence (at which the program is aimed)
- 6 goals and priorities of the program
- 7 details of the methods used in the program
- 8 resources used by the agency to deliver the program
- 9 any shortage of resources in the agency's work
- 10 written reports, articles or descriptions of the programs

A more detailed explanation of each of these categories of information will be provided in due course. However, a summary rationale for the choice of these categories is as follows. Questions 1 to 3 comprised basic agency identification and contact information. It was expected that Questions 4 and 5 would provide an understanding of the broad scale of the violence program, its size and whether it targeted only one or multiple forms of violence. Questions 7 to 9 were designed to reveal something of the methodology(s) or intervention strategy(s) being employed in the program(s) and its (or their), degree of effectiveness.

It was believed that this data, once assembled, would produce a list of criteria for categorising programs as well as a guide to the nature of their success and failures.

A useful exploration of this issue of profiling and categorising programs is provided by d'Abbs, Hunter, Reser and Martin (1994) in 'Alcohol-related Violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities: a Literature Review', who attempt to 'bring some conceptual order' to the discussion of methods and interventions made in response to alcohol-related violence, and so produce a framework for systematic comparison of these (d'Abbs *et al* 1994:91). This piece

of work represents one of the few examples found in the literature of an overarching analysis of this kind. These authors, in constructing their classification of interventions (d'Abbs *et al* 1994:92,93), recognised the following intervention categories: (1) reducing or abstaining from the drinking of alcohol, (2) transforming undesirable alcohol related behaviour, especially violence, (3) providing services for the victims of violence, (4) changing the social and economic variables that are conducive to excessive alcohol use. These intervention types are then further categorised according to a second dimension of criteria based on whether control and administration of programs is carried out by government agencies or by community-based organisations.

D'Abbs, Hunter, Reser and Martin state that their model cannot hope to be all encompassing, and that the dimensions chosen are not the only ones available. However, they believe that it serves as a starting point for a discussion that highlights 'how different kinds of interventions are linked to differing—and sometimes competing—understandings of the nature of alcohol-related problems and how they should be addressed' (d'Abbs *et al* 1994:93). What follows is an overview of interventions and their listed categories, organised with regard to their primary focus.

While this piece of work by d'Abbs *et al* (1994) deals specifically with alcohol-related violence, its approach assumes that the causes of this are varied, complex and interrelated with social, economic and political issues, as most violent behaviours in Indigenous communities tend to be. The authors attempted to construct a typology of interventions focused around one particular factor contributing to the nature, frequency and seriousness of violent behaviour perpetrated by Indigenous people. The Paul Memmott and Associates (PMA) consultancy team attempted to extend this categorisation of programs. They were considered in the first dimension in terms of their identified objectives and the nature of the role they play. These program types are then profiled in terms of a series of other important characteristics. These include: (a) at whom the program is aimed, (b) the kind of violence attended to, (c) the extent of the effect it hopes to achieve, (d) in what kind of communities those involved reside, (e) who provides the service, and (f) the program's funding source.

a) At whom the program is aimed

Programs are designed to deal with people, who are, or might become, involved in violent behaviour. These include the perpetrators of violence, the victims of violence, and possibly the indirect victims of violence, the surrounding family or community. Some programs aim their efforts at both the perpetrator and victim. In many cases it is only one of these parties. In the most successful programs, the entire community is mobilised in an effort to curb violence, and all members benefit from the sense of achievement brought about by sharing in the solution of the problem. For example, perpetrators participate in the community's culturally-specific system of shame and punishment, direct victims are protected and their plight understood, and indirect victims have the opportunity to act to alleviate the situation afflicting their fellow community members.

b) **The kind of violence attended to**

Frequently, various programs will target specific forms of violence, such as those described in the previous section. The list might include family violence, sexual assault and rape, child abuse, assault, homicide, self-harm and suicide. It is worth considering whether different approaches to violence prevention succeed with specific types of violence. And it is useful to include in any such investigations the presence of alcohol, and the role it plays in inciting and heightening episodes of violence. It is also necessary to determine, from a consideration of the survey data, whether certain forms of violence are currently lacking intervention techniques or methodologies throughout Indigenous Australia.

c) **The extent of the effect the program hopes to achieve**

This category covers the kind of effect a program has, or intends to have, on the interplay of violence. It also considers the moment at which the program intercedes in any violent activity. Some programs purport to deal only with the immediate effects of violence in close proximity to the act itself, while others attempt to prevent a recurrence of violence in the future by dealing with the underlying issues associated with this kind of behaviour. The latter category of programs are often instigated after violent behaviour has occurred, either before or after the justice system has intervened, but they may also be enacted when only the risk of offending in such a way is identified.

d) **In what kind of communities do those involved reside**

It seems relevant to identify the differences between programs aimed at remote, rural Indigenous communities and those aimed at rural urban and metropolitan groups. This aspect may relate to the concept of underlying issues and whether violence is more frequent in communities that have experienced a shared pattern of destructive cultural change. It is also beneficial to determine what the nature of the communities are, whether they exist on Aboriginal land, reserve land, as town camps on the fringe of rural centres, or as outstations. Again, it is useful to establish whether the community has been, by whatever means, declared alcohol-free. The settlement setting is likely to have an influence on the style and impact of violence, as well as on the availability of resources with which programs and interventions might operate.

e) **Who provides the service**

When discussing different types of programs, it is necessary to understand who provides the service as distinct from who funds it, because this may impact powerfully on the flexibility of any scheme, its cultural sensitivity, the way in which it is accepted in the community and therefore its relative chances of success or failure. Also, other agencies positioned in the program's network of collaboration are significant elements involved in its practice. Numerous examples were found of schemes that are run by local community organisations which receive the program's service provision specifications from a government funding or auspicing body. Defining the nature of this collaboration, in so far as there may be no room available to negotiate these terms, is an important step towards understanding the nature of the program's effect.

f) **From where the program receives funding**

The source of funding plays a key role in the life of any violence prevention program. It is usually received from government, whether State, Territory or Commonwealth, however many successful programs survive with a share of the resources of Aboriginal organisations, or through the generosity and commitment of volunteers. Understanding the cycle of funding is of significance, as some agencies launch their programs with limited grants of money and later find that resources disappear when recurrent funding is sought, or with changes of government and policy. A further note needs to be made regarding the implications of establishing programs, the successful operation of which largely requires the commitment of volunteers. While initial analysis certainly suggests that it is very beneficial to actively involve community members, it must also be remembered that these people are often economically and socially disadvantaged themselves, and therefore under a great deal of pressure to provide for themselves and family. Their efforts as volunteers need to be recognised, respected and supported by the wider community. Methods to achieve this should be considered as a part of the program's methods.

The identified violence prevention programs in Indigenous communities

The Indigenous violence programs profiled by the authors during 1998 are listed in Appendix 2 under their titles and according to the different States. The profiles of the programs are contained in an earlier version of this report which has been lodged with National Crime Prevention as a confidential research study.

It needs to be stressed that the authors make no claims to having identified all Indigenous violence programs in Australia. One of the methodological problems of the current study has been the lack of any readily available systematic way of learning about violence programs being administered in the various funding sectors (Commonwealth, State, local government, Indigenous communities and private sector). We are of the view that there are a substantial number of programs that have escaped detection in the current search methodology which has been limited by time and resources.

A summation of the programs on a State by State basis gives the following sub totals.

Table 4 Numbers of violence programs identified by authors on a State by State basis

STATE OR TERRITORY	PROFILED PROGRAMS	NON PROFILED PROGRAMS	NUMBERS OF PROGRAMS
			Sub totals
Australian Capital Territory	1	2	3
New South Wales	5	25	30
Northern Territory	13	5	18
Queensland	19	10	29
South Australia	1	4	5
Tasmania	1	3	4
Victoria	4	13	17
Western Australia	10	15	25
Totals	54	77	131

An examination of the above table indicates that the largest number of violence programs which were identified are in New South Wales (30) and Queensland (29), followed by Western Australia (25). Eighteen programs were identified in Northern Territory and 17 in Victoria. Only a small number of programs were identified in South Australia (5), Australian Capital Territory (3), and Tasmania (4). It is difficult to make any firm deductions from these figures, given the uncertainty about how complete the search process for violence programs has been. It should be pointed out that it became quite clear mid-way in the study which States had an apparent lack of reported programs, and efforts were doubled and in some cases tripled to target those States, but with only limited success.

It would be useful at this point to compare the above numbers of programs with the distribution of Indigenous population by State.

Table 5 Identified violence programs compared to Indigenous population size on a State by State basis

STATE	VIOLENCE PROGRAMS IDENTIFIED	PROGRAMS PROFILED	INDIGENOUS POPULATION of State or Territory (ABS Census 1996)	INDIGENOUS POPULATION as a % of total population of State (ABS Census 1996)	INDIGENOUS POPULATION as % of total Indigenous population for country (ABS Census 1996)
Australian Capital Territory	3	1	2,899	0.969	0.82
New South Wales	30	5	101,485	1.68	28.77
Northern Territory	18	13	46,277	23.72	13.12
Queensland	29	19	95,518	2.835	27.08
South Australia	5	1	20,444	1.432	5.80
Tasmania	4	1	13,873	3.02	3.93
Victoria	17	4	21,474	0.491	6.08
Western Australia	25	10	50,793	2.942	14.40
Sub Total	131	54	352,763	-	100

From the above table, the overall distribution of identified programs by State is largely commensurate with the populations of Indigenous people in each State. The only obvious anomaly featured in the above table is Victoria, which, with an Indigenous population of about 21,474, to be commensurate with other States, would be expected to have about six or seven programs, yet as many as 17 have been identified. Victoria therefore appears to have a much larger number of programs per capita than other States. Western Australia is also comparatively high in numbers, but to a lesser degree.

It is to be noted that only about 41% of the programs identified were profiled by the authors. A number of factors have adversely affected the authors' success in pursuing information regarding violence prevention programs, chief among them being (a) reluctant agencies whose priorities are local and not assisting with national surveys, and (b) the limited time and resources of the authors to carry through intensive contact approaches, without the advantage of personal contact and visitation. The figures indicate that the least response has been from New South Wales which, with 30 identified programs and the highest Indigenous population of any State, only yielded five program profiles.

Another influential factor is that the networks of providers are more accessible to people already in those networks and difficult to access by outsiders. Yet another important issue to consider is that some program providers do not immediately identify themselves as running 'violence prevention' programs. As discussed earlier in this section, a number of programs, the primary goals of which may be recreation, enterprises, housing and health, produce the indirect outcome of curbing violence behaviour by addressing its situational and underlying causes. Also in this category are often those programs which have been described in this report as identity programs, involving support activities that improve the Indigenous participants' levels of self-esteem and understanding of their psychological pain that may otherwise be manifested in self-destructive behaviour.

Furthermore, it is often the well-resourced government agencies that have the better literature on their programs than the under-resourced local Indigenous agencies. The latter group may be thus disadvantaged in responding to surveys.

Description of program categories

From an examination of the 54 program profiles, the authors have defined eight program categories as follows:

- 1 support programs (counselling, advocacy)
- 2 strengthening identity programs (sport, education, arts, cultural activities, group therapy)
- 3 behavioural reform programs (men's and women's groups)
- 4 community policing and monitoring programs (night patrols, wardens)
- 5 shelter/protection programs (refuges, sobering-up shelters)
- 6 justice programs (community justice groups)
- 7 mediation programs (dispute resolution)

- 8 education programs (tertiary courses, miscellaneous courses, media)
- 9 composite programs (draw upon many of the above areas)

These categories are not mutually exclusive. Certain programs provide services that would fit a number of these nine categories. The character of these program types is summarised in Table 6, and each category is discussed in detail in the remainder of this section. However a methodological note is first necessary on what programs have not been included in this analysis.

Programs not included in this survey

- 1 Like all violence researchers in this field, we recognise the need for alcohol programs for Indigenous people. Part of an Indigenous violence strategy for a community should include strategies to reduce harmful drinking practices. However, as alcohol programs represent a complete specialised area in their own right they have generally not been included in the current survey.
- 2 A number of programs were discovered, the focus of which was certain types of violence, particularly domestic violence, without distinguishing between the cultural backgrounds of clients. In general, these mainstream programs have not been included in the listings featured in this report. However, some were found to have employed or be in the process of employing Indigenous staff to assist with Indigenous clients requiring their services.
- 3 As mentioned in Section 2, many diverse community-based programs could be included as contributing to a reduction of violence. These include those involving employment, education, training and housing. All of these have a role in raising people's self-esteem and psychological security, strengthening social cohesion and leadership, and providing alternative activities to idleness and substance abuse. It is beyond the scope of this study to include all such programs. Some have been included however under Category 2—identity programs, where they have a specific stated goal of reducing violence.
- 4 It should be noted that only one organisation from the Torres Strait islands has been identified as running a violence program (a women's shelter), that being the Mura Kosker Sorority on Thursday Island. However, no written response was received from this group to enable profiling. Generally, the literature contained, both in terms of theory and program description, little explicit distinction between Aboriginal people and those of Torres Strait Islander descent. There was no discussion in any documents of the specific cultural requirements in terms of violence problems, of either people residing in the Torres Strait, or other Torres Strait Islanders situated elsewhere in Australia (eg Cairns, Townsville, Sydney, Port Hedland or Darwin).

Table 6 Summary of categories of violence programs profiled in the current study

PROGRAM TYPES	AIMED AT	ROLE	EXTENT OF EFFECT	EXAMPLES	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SERVICE PROVIDER	FUNDING	STATE
Support programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims women children youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support Advocacy Intervention 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early reactive response during or immediately after violence in the case of night patrols and sobering up shelters; prior to police intervention in the case of women's refuges—often support services will encourage involvement of judiciary or court system in effort to remove women and children from violent situations (ie restraining order)—evidence of prior police intervention) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NYP Women's Council Domestic Violence Group Geraldton Streetwork 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remote communities Urban communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and Commonwealth Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Northern Territory Western Australia South Australia
Identity programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potential perpetrators Youth Perpetrators <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – youth – adults those vulnerable to committing self-harm or suicide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diversion (art, sport, cultural activities) Counselling Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early and late proactive responses often aimed at effecting a long term change in behaviour patterns pre or post-violence eg early in child's life when indicators suggest violence might be problem in future and when they have offended in some way and are at risk of going to prison and thus entrenching their ways aimed at those considered to be at risk from self-harm and suicide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street sport Street work Social Emotional Well Being Program We AHI YACCA Yarrabah Life Promotion Project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban, regional centres Urban communities Remote communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government services Aboriginal organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and Commonwealth Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western Australia Northern Territory Queensland Tasmania
Behaviour reform programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> perpetrators in prison known perpetrators victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> therapy/counselling education promote healthy life skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late reactive response aimed at effecting long term change often post violence, dealing with the outcomes of violent behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ending offending Anti violence for men; Services to Aboriginal Families Program (Lismore) Aboriginal liaison officers in prisons Guba Danga We AHI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban, regional centres Urban communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Correctional services other government agencies Aboriginal agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State Government Volunteers Commonwealth Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Queensland Western Australia Northern Territory South Australia Tasmania Victoria New South Wales Tasmania

Table 6 continued Summary of categories of violence programs profiled in the current study

PROGRAM TYPES	AIMED AT	ROLE	EXTENT OF EFFECT	EXAMPLES	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SERVICE PROVIDER	FUNDING	STATE
Community policing & monitoring programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perpetrators drinkers substance abusers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Removal from scene of conflict Incarceration Intervention Dispute resolution Prevention Surveillance 	<p>Early reactive response</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> contact during, immediately after to avoid involvement of police and escalate of violence <p>Late proactive response</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> contact made in potentially violent situation ie where excessive alcohol has been consumed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Night patrols (Tangentyere, Julaikari, WA Communities) Wardens (Tangentyere, WA) the above act together with sobering-up shelters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remote communities Rural centres Towns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal organisation Police services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and Commonwealth Government Community donations Volunteers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Northern Territory Western Australia
Shelter/ protection programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perpetrators intoxicated persons victims women children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intervention detention refuge 	<p>Early reactive response</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> during and after to provide short-term relief <p>Late reactive response</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> provide safety to at-risk person 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sobering-up shelters—Halls Creek, Tennant Creek Women's refuges (Daly River) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regional centres Remote communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and Commonwealth Government Community donations Volunteers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western Australia Northern Territory Queensland South Australia Australian Capital Territory Victoria New South Wales
Justice programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perpetrators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Punishment Prevention 	<p>Late reactive response</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> often after long term series of violent episodes when numerous incidents have occurred in communities where violence is part of an entrenched pattern Long-term solution sought 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community justice programs (Kowanyama, Palm Island) Community justice panels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remote communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Queensland Victoria

Table 6 continued Summary of categories of violence programs profiled in the current study

PROGRAM TYPES	AIMED AT	ROLE	EXTENT OF EFFECT	EXAMPLES	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SERVICE PROVIDER	FUNDING	STATE
Mediation programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People in conflict or dispute with other families or groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevention Mediation Conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late reactive response as above to prevent escalation of existing violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal alternative dispute resolution (WA) Community justice service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban centres Regional centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western Australia New South Wales
Education programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health workers Community workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education Prevention Conflict resolution Intervention Therapy for facilitators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early proactive response counter likelihood of violence ensure qualified personnel are available to prevent an escalation of violence Late reactive response personnel become skilled in dealing with serious level of violent behaviours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indigenous Therapies Course (Central Queensland University) Far North Queensland Consortium for Social and Emotional Well-being (Bungalow, Old) Tangentyere Remote Areas Night Patrol Training Certificate III in Community Services—Northern Territory University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban centres Regional centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aboriginal organisation tertiary institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State Government Commonwealth Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Queensland Northern Territory

Descriptions of individual program categories

1. SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Such programs primarily provide forms of personal support for those adversely affected by violence and are generally used after an episode of violence has occurred. Such services usually try to assist the victims of family violence (most often women), rather than the perpetrator, and can take the form of formal or informal counselling, legal aid leading to intervention of various kinds, and advocacy. Some support programs provide advice to enable a longer-term response to violence, whereby they provide the victim with information regarding their legal rights and places where they might seek refuge, or, alternatively suggest strategies in which local action might be taken against violence. Therefore Indigenous people may be given the opportunity to decide to remove themselves from the violence settings (eg. home or community) or take other courses of action to prevent or reduce the likelihood of it recurring.

Most of these types of programs may be further subdivided into the following sub-headings:

- i) one-on-one counselling and advice services
- ii) ATSI Legal Aid services
- iii) strategic advice for actual or potential victims to prevent or avoid violence, including referrals to other programs and centres

Examples include:

- Streetwork, Western Australia
- NPY Women's Council Cross-border Domestic Violence Service, in Northern Territory, South Australia, and Western Australia
- Yarrabah Family Life Promotion Project, Queensland
- Nunkuwarrin Yunti Domestic Violence Counselling Service, South Australia
- NSW Women's Legal Resource Centre—Indigenous Women's Program
- Women Out West—NSW-WLRC
- ACT Domestic Violence Crisis Service—Aboriginal Outreach Worker
- Tasmanian Support for Aboriginal Inmates

From an examination of the literature on violence in Indigenous communities, the availability of counselling services which are targeted specifically at both victims and perpetrators of violence appears to be minimal. While in less remote communities, mainstream counsellors or mental health workers are more likely to be available, the question of their accessibility with regard to providing culturally appropriate services to Aboriginal people appears to have attracted little attention in terms of assessment. No study assessing the provision of counselling services in communities and their effects was discovered in the literature search.

During the course of this survey, the authors uncovered few counselling support programs aimed specifically at child victims of violence. A notable exception appears to be the Geraldton Streetwork program in Western Australia, in which mainly Indigenous youth between the ages of

12 and 18 years are targeted for counselling and emotional support, as well as other services designed to assist social development. The Streetwork program has proven successful, having received a Violence Prevention Award from the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1995. However, the declared focus of this program is Indigenous youth perpetrators of crime, current or potential. We remain unclear as to the way in which issues of victimhood in relation to violence are dealt with through this scheme.

However, the need for counselling was identified as a priority in a number of studies, particularly in the more recent articles (Gladman *et al* 1997, Atkinson & Ober 1995). Atkinson and Ober (1995) stated that the family members of anyone dying as a result of violence or from similar trauma, require counselling. We also considered this service necessary for the victims of rape and sexual assault and their family members. Gladman *et al* (1997) further underlined the need for post-violence counselling as being a priority in Aboriginal communities.

2. STRENGTHENING IDENTITY PROGRAMS

'Identity programs' aim to develop within the individual a secure sense of self-value or self-esteem, both in his or her own eyes as well as in the wider community's or society's eyes, thereby reducing the individual's vulnerability to enacting violence, including vulnerability to suicide and self-injury. There appear to be two broad methods or strategies employed to achieve this goal.

The first approach is activity based and aims to divert potential perpetrators away from violence by the increased provision of sporting, social and cultural activities, education and skills training. Such activities are usually aimed at youth and young adults. Program providers often intend, as a consequence, to achieve personal growth goals through encouraging responsibility and allowing it to be fulfilled during various structured activities, often involving team skills and peer group values. Others facilitate the development of valued skills (eg welding, horse breaking) or basic survival skills (literacy and numeracy).

A second sub-category of programs are therapy based and focus on restoring Indigenous people to a sense of self-worth and strong cultural identity through culturally specific psychological or spiritual healing. Such programs include the techniques of sharing painful experiences, acceptance of emotions, and exploring Aboriginality. An important example of this approach is the Social and Emotional Well Being Centres being established in the Northern Territory. All these programs may be accessed prior to, and after involvement with, violence, and offer a longer-term response, through attempting a change of the situational factors underlying violence.

Activity based examples include:

- Streetwork, Western Australia
- Streetsport, Western Australia
- Outstations (most States)
- Youth Camps—JAHADI in Tasmania
- YACCA, Queensland

- Police Club Youth Centres—eg Cannington, Western Australia

Therapy based examples include:

- Social and Emotional Well Being Centres
- Far North Queensland Consortium for Social and Emotional Health and Well Being
- Counselling services generally—eg Nunkuwarrin Yunti Domestic Violence Counselling Service, South Australia
- Men's support groups, eg Guba Dangka on Mornington Island and Lismore Men's Anti-Violence Group
- Support for Aboriginal Inmates, Tasmania

Men's support groups have been included in this category and, in the authors' view, comprise an important strategy that focuses on the perpetrators of family violence. However, there is a notable absence of such groups in the program profiles—an exception being the Guba Dangka group on Mornington Island. Men's support groups may take on another role besides enhancing self-identity, namely that of reforming the offending behaviours of the participants. This aspect will be discussed in the next category.

3. BEHAVIOURAL REFORM PROGRAMS

Behavioural reform programs attempt to provide an avenue whereby perpetrators may reform the behavioural traits that have led to past violent incidents. Included in this group are services run in prisons, where offenders are serving a sentence related to a violent act, and whose custodial environment is conducive to frustration and heated outburst. Another category of behavioural reform programs comprises the men's groups operating outside prisons which seek to address the issues behind men's violent behaviour, towards their partners and wider families, and other men. This kind of group often operates within the community, targeting those men who have been charged for their violence and who have returned to their communities after incarceration, as well as at-risk men who have not yet been charged for an offence. Such programs include techniques of anger management, coping skills, and stress-relief skills. The nature of such an effort towards change suggests that the goal is long-term or permanent. Not all programs attempt to assist perpetrators. Some are aimed at victims to empower them to change the situation that allows them to be repeatedly targeted as victims.

Examples include:

- Prison-based programs—anger-management courses
- Support for Aboriginal Inmates & Family, Tasmania
- Men's groups, eg Guba Dangka on Mornington Island (Queensland) and Lismore Men's Anti-Violence Group (New South Wales)
- Social Behaviour Project, Alice Springs, Northern Territory
- Management of Public Drunkenness—Mornington Island (Queensland)
- Women's groups

As the literature strongly asserts that men inflict the majority of violence, the need for men's behavioural-reform programs must be of urgent priority. A brief survey of the collected information regarding violence-prevention programs in Australia reveals that there are comparatively few men's programs in existence. While a great many programs primarily seek in some way to involve the male perpetrators of violence, an insufficient number recognise directly in their design which gender is more frequently and more seriously violent. That violent behaviour is displayed more readily by men than women, either against others or directly internally upon themselves, should signal that there are particular needs this group has with regard to controlling aggression and coping with frustration and disappointment. Behavioural-reform programs are specifically aimed at replacing violent mechanisms for dealing with these stresses with other more appropriate internal devices, eg non violent anger expression.

4. COMMUNITY POLICING AND MONITORING PROGRAMS

By community policing and monitoring programs, we refer to programs which employ or enlist Indigenous people to police, monitor and/or intervene in violence in the Indigenous community.

Programs that perform a policing role are generally aimed at both the perpetrators of violence and substance abusers (particularly alcohol). Night patrols and warden schemes are the two common sub-categories of this type. Their tasks include intervention, mediation and dispute resolution between people in conflict, and the removal of disruptive or potentially violent persons from public or private social environments. These programs are accessed at the time of violence and provide an immediate and short term response to it. They are essentially a reactive response to violence.

Often night patrols and warden schemes rely on the successful establishment of a good working relationship with the local police. The benefits gained from this sort of collaboration are shared by the wider community.

Examples include:

Night patrols

- Wunngagutu Patrol Western Australia
- Yamatji Patrol Geraldton Western Australia
- Tangentyere Night Patrol/training, Northern Territory
- Julalikari Council Night Patrol, Northern Territory
- Kalano Community Night Patrol, Northern Territory

Warden schemes

- Tangentyere Warden Scheme, Northern Territory
- Ngukurr Warden Scheme, Northern Territory

Note: Identified night patrols and associated shelters are contained in Appendix 2. ATSIC data give the following totals on a State-by-State basis for 1996.

Table 7 List of night patrols in Indigenous Australia (ATSIC data, 1996)

STATE	NUMBER OF PATROLS
Australian Capital Territory	(none known to authors)
New South Wales	2
Northern Territory	25
Queensland	3
South Australia	(none known to authors)
Tasmania	(none known to authors)
Victoria	(none known to authors)
Western Australia	8
Total	38

Note that amongst these night patrols is one listed in Alice Springs that targets youths exclusively.

The first night patrol was originated in Tennant Creek in 1989 by Julalikari Council. It remains one of the more composite programs of this type, for not only does it involve picking up people who are causing violence disturbances and transporting them to the local sobering-up shelter or to other protective locations, but this is also followed by meetings in relevant town camps on the following day to admonish or chastise the offender (especially through the use of 'shaming') and to mediate any ongoing conflict.

From Tennant Creek, the night patrol concept has spread and been adapted throughout the Northern Territory and Western Australia and into some parts of New South Wales and Queensland as indicated in the table above. Its capacity as a self-controlled volunteer community intervention program with a relatively low budget has great utility and potential for many more centres. Properly managed, such programs also have great potential to build cooperation and mutual respect and support with local police. Night patrols are a tried and proven program type.

Only two programs in our survey fall under warden schemes and they differ in their definition of what constitutes a warden. The Tangentyere Warden Scheme (Alice Springs) involves one or two individuals making regular foot and vehicle patrols in the bed of the Todd River very early in the morning to intercept overnight campers who are vulnerable to binge drinking and violence, and facilitate their relocation into conventional town camps or to home communities throughout Central Australia. The Ngukurr Warden Scheme involves Aboriginal men who individually police violence in their own respective residential sectors at Ngukurr Community, and who may either act alone or seek assistance from the local Northern Territory police and police aide. A recent variant of a warden role was noted by the authors in a newspaper advertisement in early 1999, that being for a 'Licensed Crowd Controller' in a Cape York community alcohol outlet.

Warden schemes thus tend to involve individuals, unlike night patrols, which usually involve teams of three or more.

Another program type that is relevant to this category is the work of Aboriginal liaison officers in the police service, whose purpose is to improve relations between communities and the police. However, the survey has not included any profiling of this type.

5. SHELTER/PROTECTION PROGRAMS

Protection programs focus on either the perpetrators or the victims of violence. When dealing with perpetrators, their role is to intervene in incidences of violence and to detain them until their own and others' safety can be assured. Sobering-up shelters are a significant example of this type. The detection and intervention phase is often done by a night patrol which may be formally administered in conjunction with the shelter program or be quite separate from it. On the other hand, the primary role of protection programs, when aimed at the victims, involves intervention in violence through the provision of a safe retreat space for the victim. The most common facility for this latter type of program is the women's shelter or women's refuge.

Examples aimed primarily at victims include:

- Women's shelters and refuges generally
- NPY Women's Domestic Violence Service (links to shelters in cross-border areas—Northern Territory, South Australia, Western Australia)

Examples aimed primarily at perpetrators include:

- Sobering-up shelters generally
- Halls Creek Sobering-up Shelter, Western Australia

Note that some sobering-up shelters are linked to night patrols. In 1997 there were seven non-custodial sobering-up centres in operation across Victoria, all run by Aboriginal cooperatives (Matthews 1997:4).

As noted above, a widespread response to spousal violence in particular has been the introduction and establishment of women's shelters and refuges in towns and cities. Most women's refuges are available for women from all backgrounds. Many of these have been used by Indigenous women as well as non Indigenous women. In certain areas of high Indigenous population, it is predominantly Indigenous women who are using the service. The Alice Springs women's refuge is an example of this. In areas of comparatively low Indigenous population where there is still a need for a place for Indigenous women to go to escape the threat of spousal violence, it appears these women are less likely to use the service. Thus in certain rural areas, large towns and cities where there is a significant Indigenous population but where compared to the population as a whole they are a minority, refuges specifically for Indigenous women are often needed. A number of shelters contacted during the consultancy had employed an Aboriginal support worker who was on call to assist Indigenous women using their service. A few more, in response to a recognised need, were in the process of extending their services to incorporate culturally-appropriate support for Indigenous women.

Bolger describes women's shelters as the only places 'completely geared to understanding a woman's situation and to helping with her problems' (Bolger 1991:89). In general terms they provide a temporary haven in which women can recover from the physical harm suffered through spousal violence, assess their situation and options for making a change to it, and ensure the safety of their children. According to Bolger (1991), the shortcomings of how these shelters fit within the wider community service network is brought into even more sharp relief for Aboriginal women using such venues: '... Many of whom come from small, remote

communities and camps, where there are far fewer options available to a woman considering an alternative life' (Bolger 1991:90).

Some remote Indigenous communities have established women's refuges or shelters where women in remote areas can go to escape from an abusive situation. Examples of such places are located at Daly River, Palm Island, Mornington Island (Gununa), and Doomadgee.

While women's refuges are an essential service and have been shown to have been well-used by Indigenous women in many areas, they are only one aspect of the complexity involved in resolving violence issues in Indigenous communities. On their own, they are not a sufficient response to the difficulties produced by high levels of violence in Indigenous communities. They comprise a reactive strategy only. Nor do they seek to address the underlying causes, thereby creating the possibility of a change in the pattern of violent behaviour. They thus need to be coupled with other proactive strategies targeted at the perpetrators of violence, and other situational factors.

6. JUSTICE PROGRAMS

Such programs are characteristically aimed at the perpetrators of violence, but also have benefits for the victims. Their role includes (i) mediation between people in conflict, (ii) the designation of culturally-appropriate punishment for acts of violence, and (iii) prevention of recidivism. Justice programs are accessed following violence and offer a longer term, community based response to violence. Examples include the community justice initiatives that are current in various forms in a number of States.

In Queensland, such initiatives, with the assistance of government funding to develop strategies that meet the community's justice needs, have spawned a number of community justice groups. The membership of such groups consists of respected figures of authority from the community, like elders, who work to supervise those living under court orders, and devise, with advice from the government's criminal justice agencies, culturally-appropriate penalties for offenders. They are also responsible for overseeing various programs in operation within the community that are aimed at reducing levels of public drunkenness and violence. The Victorian equivalent of the Queensland program are called Community Justice Panels. These appear more focussed on assisting those who are already a part of the conventional criminal justice system.

These kinds of programs tend to subsume within their jurisdiction a number of other program types, including night patrols, sobering-up shelters, refuges, early intervention systems and shaming techniques. Some of these programs are thus eligible to be grouped under Program Category 9, Composite Programs.

Examples include:

- Community justice panels in Queensland, Western Australia, Victoria and Northern Territory
- Western Australian justice panels

The Kowanyama Community Justice Group was established in 1994 and its progress has been well documented and evaluated by Chantrill (1998a, 1998b). At Kowanyama, the elders commit themselves on a volunteer basis and have an understanding of customary law and practice as

applied to contemporary lifestyle. They are required to take on the roles of mediator, overseer and counsellor. Individual members of the justice group have been empowered to act as 'weighty protagonists' in the criminal justice system (Chantrill 1997:1). During a three-year period, the number of juveniles appearing before the magistrates court fell substantially (by about one-third) and this is attributed to this program.

7. MEDIATION PROGRAMS

This type of program is aimed at people experiencing conflict. Its fundamental roles include prevention, mediation and conflict resolution. These programs may be accessed both prior to, and after involvement with violence and offer a longer-term response. A particular example of this program category would be the community justice centres set up in New South Wales. While this New South Wales service is not aimed specifically at Indigenous people, its staff are attempting to incorporate more culturally-sensitive material into its advertising and operational procedures. The centres provide two trained facilitators to groups in which a recognised conflict, that has not yet been resolved, exists. A process of discussing the dispute and evolving a compromise is instigated and overseen by these facilitators. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the flexibility of this service has proven successful in certain Indigenous communities in New South Wales, where it used impartial members of the Indigenous community as facilitators, and allowed traditional dispute-resolution techniques to be incorporated into the overall mediation process.

Examples include:

- Aboriginal liaison officers—various police services, eg Northern Territory, Victoria, Australian Capital Territory.
- New South Wales community justice centres (not aimed at Aboriginal people specifically)
- Alternative Dispute Resolution Service, Western Australia
- Women's Grant Program, New South Wales

Atkinson (1990c:7) has noted that human and cultural resources in the area of dispute management continue to exist in many Indigenous communities, being derived from traditional practices. Anthropological literature records that Aboriginal people all over Australia employed structured and institutionalised events to 'square-up' emotions, whether such be grievance, anger, grief or pleasure. The most widely reported are the duels that were held to resolve grievances, and although involving structured violence as a medium itself, were designed in many groups to minimise excessive or undeserved punishment. Notions of emotional expression of grievance, adjudication, witnessing, use of seconds, and forgiveness underlay these events and might usefully be applied in contemporary mediation circumstances.

It is thus likely that local Indigenous mediation techniques are in use and widespread, albeit unsystematically. Nevertheless, there is clearly not a strong representation of mediation programs in the profiled violence programs of the current study. This suggests that mediation as a formal method of resolving conflict in Indigenous communities may not be widespread. It is well-known, of course, that informal mediations are a common aspect of Indigenous life, and it seems appropriate to build on such traditions. However, a point of vigorous debate regarding designing a mediation service, is whether mediators should be (a) trained local Indigenous

people, or (b) individuals who are clearly neutral and apolitical in terms of local kinship and social structure. In this latter category the debate then widens into whether such individuals should be Indigenous (from outside the community or region) or non-Indigenous. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on self-determination which results in the argument of training local community personnel, while on the other hand, there is often a prescription for a mediator of authority and impartiality which can lead to a rejection of using local people.

With regard to these issues there are important lessons to be learnt from the Western Australian Alternative Dispute Resolution Service which, although being administered through a State Government department, involved establishing a regional network of Indigenous mediators. This is one of the few violence programs in the current survey that has been subjected to an evaluation (Chadbourne 1992, Mugford & Nelson 1996:68).

8. EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

The main sub-category in this area comprises community education programs that aim to raise awareness through media campaigns and culturally-appropriate information distribution. Largely, their role is to provide education on issues of violence prevention, conflict resolution and actual or potential intervention with perpetrators. These programs are accessed prior to, during or after violence situations and they offer a long term proactive response. Many of them are media projects. Education media profiled in the current survey includes television (commercials and films), radio (commercials and longer programs), including use of Broadcasting to Remote Areas Community (BRACS), video, posters, pamphlets, leaflets, badges, newsletters and kits.

Those programs that come under the training sub category are usually aimed at health workers, community workers and students training to assume such positions in Indigenous society. However, another form of relevant training is cultural awareness for non-Indigenous workers in government agencies and the like who require an understanding of the issues of Indigenous violence.

Examples include:

Education

- Bega Garnbirringu Health Services Domestic Violence Media Campaign, Western Australia
- Aboriginal Community Education Project - Domestic Violence, Western Australia
- NPY Women's Council 'Good Protection for all Women', Northern Territory
- 'Ending Offending' and 'Family Healing' programs being run in Queensland prisons
- Women's Legal Resources Centre and Western District Foundation for Aboriginal Corporation, school kits, New South Wales

Training

- Indigenous Therapies Course, Central Queensland University, Queensland
- Far North Queensland Consortium for Social and Emotional Health and Well Being
- Certificate III in Community Services, Northern Territory University

- Family Violence Advocacy Project—Apunipima Cape York Health Council, Queensland.
The focus of this program is an overarching one, whereby government and non government agencies are lobbied to improve their services and resources to Aboriginal communities. An essential component of this lobbying effort is to raise awareness of the specific needs of Aboriginal families through education and training of a range of service providers

An important category of educational information is a definition of acceptable and unacceptable forms of behaviour (including forms of violence) for a target community. Such a definition aims to overcome any complacency and acceptance of violence (which is perhaps part of a local sub culture of violence). An example of this technique was used in the Tangentyere Council Social Behaviour Project, Alice Springs.

It is alarming that the current survey has revealed no educational programs targeted at young children for use in Indigenous preschools and schools. Given the negative impact of violence on children in communities and the generational cycles by which violence is transmitted, it would seem imperative that educational materials on violence be carefully designed and made available for use in Indigenous schools. The need for school-based programs for children has also been stressed by SNAICC in its national recommendations (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:9,10). Such programs need to provide positive models for children, drawing on notions such as healthy community and healthy functional families.

Atkinson (1990d) produced an outstanding video on domestic violence in Aboriginal communities, titled *Beyond Violence: Finding the Dream*. Several program facilitators interviewed on this video stated that violent incidents in their communities were markedly reduced in the short term (eg for six weeks or so) due to (i) the production and distribution of a flier or pamphlet about domestic violence in their community in one case, and (ii) a study in one community which then reported statistics and findings on violence back to the community. In these two cases, it may be deduced that the provision of relevantly packaged information on violence and that reflection of the violence by the community, were important factors in the reduction of violence.

9. COMPOSITE PROGRAMS

Composite programs comprise several sub-programs which may (a) target different forms of violence in a community, (b) target different categories of offenders or victims, or (c) employ different methods of combating or preventing violence. When a composite program is devised to systematically deal with all types of violence in a community, it is often termed a holistic approach or a holistic program. This is usually preceded by a careful analysis of the extent and nature of violence in a community and the development of a community-based action plan or strategic plan.

Examples of such composite or more holistic approaches which were profiled (but which may not necessarily be current) are as follows:

- NPY Women's Council program (Northern Territory, Western Australia, South Australia border area)
- Nguju Aboriginal Community Family Violence Strategy, Northern Territory

- Tangentyere Council Mwerre Anetyeke Mparntwele/Social Behaviour Project, Northern Territory
- Kowanyama Justice Group, Queensland

Further examples include: composite programs that have operated in the mid 1990s at Kowanyama and Palm Island which have included justice panels; court participation by Indigenous elders; close monitoring of community service orders and parole conditions; 'kids and cops' program; reward programs; mediation; establishment of sport and recreation activities and infrastructures; counselling; early intervention with child and youth offences; sending offenders to outstations for cultural learning and/or stockwork or punishment; various shaming techniques effected through council avoidance controls (eg banning offenders from the alcohol outlets from the community for specific period and/or from specific households); as well as admonishment in front of peers (Chantrill 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). It is such composite programs that are urgently required in Indigenous communities displaying dysfunctional community syndrome, described in the previous section.

Classification of violence programs according to their time of implementation

The preceding system of classifying violence programs is by program type. An alternative way of classifying such programs is by the time of implementation of a program. In this manner, four time categories of programs may be readily differentiated as follows. In considering the need for violence programs in a particular community, it may be useful to consider how a mix of programs should be selected from these categories in a balanced way.

1 Early reactive programs

These programs are implemented during, or immediately after the occurrence of a violent incident, but usually prior to any police prosecution. They include methods such as (i) night patrols, (ii) youth suicide intervention strategy, (iii) women's refuges, (iv) petrol-sniffing intervention programs, and (v) sobering-up shelters.

2 Late reactive programs

Late reactive programs are implemented some time after an act of violence has occurred and are preoccupied with resolving the negative outcomes of that violence. These programs include methods such as (i) mediation and conflict resolution (eg trouble meetings), (ii) counselling and group therapy (eg men's group, social-emotional wellbeing etc), (iii) justice group meetings, (iv) offenders alternate programs (prison-based).

3 Early proactive programs

This category of programs aims to counter any likelihood of violence as early as possible, based on the assumption that there is some element of the risk of violence occurring in the long-term future and that all members of a community need to be equipped to deal with such. These proactive programs comprise (i) diversionary activities aimed at preoccupying people in worthwhile pursuits, (ii) education methods, which target all age groups from

infancy, (iii) the communal promotion of definitions of acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours, (iv) the training of Indigenous violence counsellors to ensure resourced personnel are available in communities to counter any prospects of violence, and (v) alcohol management strategies.

4 Late proactive programs

Late proactive programs refer to those that occur prior to violence occurring, but which are triggered by signs of imminent violent situations and thus targeted at persons at-risk. These programs include (i) mediations in disputes, (ii) group therapy and counselling, (iii) night patrols and wardens, (iv) removal of at-risk youths to safe houses, youth centres, outstations etc, and (v) youth suicide prevention strategies. Many of these methods are similar to those in (1) and (2) but they are targeted at a different category of people, namely at-risk individuals as opposed to offenders or victims.

As indicated above, this system of classification is useful in considering the design of a holistic set of composite violence programs for a community.

Findings of the program survey

The classification and review of violence programs has indicated that there is a paucity or under representation of programs in certain key areas, and that there is clearly a need to focus support resources into developing such programs for wider application.

From the programs profiled, details were sought regarding the forms of violence being targeted. The typology set out in section 3 of this report summarises the forms of violence analysed from the literature survey. Where possible, the numbers of programs surveyed that are specifically stated or known to be targeting particular violence forms are listed in Table 8.

Table 8 Numbers of profiled programs addressing particular forms of violence

VIOLENCE FORMS (AS PER SECTION 3)	NUMBERS OF CORRESPONDING PROFILED PROGRAMS
1. spouse assault	1
2. homicide (including assault with intent)	0
3. rape and sexual assault	6
4. child violence	4
5. suicide	6
6. self-injury	3
7. inter group violence	2
8. psychological abuse	1
9. economic abuse	1
10. cyclic violence	1
11. dysfunctional community syndrome	0

Table 8 shows that, in total, 25 programs out of the 54 profiled programs may be said to be targeting a specific form of violence based on the contents of the profile descriptions. There appears to be a lack of program representation explicitly addressing spouse assault, homicide, psychological abuse, economic abuse, cyclic violence and dysfunctional community syndrome. However the analysis in Table 8 is unsatisfactory, due to the need to obtain further details of the forms of violence which the programs purport to address. For example, in compiling the above table, it was not assumed that a women's shelter focused on spouse (or domestic) violence unless it was explicitly stated in the profile. The profiles thus tend to provide broader imprecise descriptions of their goals, so much so that an alternate table to Table 8 may be drawn up as follows.

Table 9 Numbers of programs addressing broad categories of violence, as described in the program profiles

BROAD CATEGORIES OF VIOLENCE	PROFILED PROGRAMS	PROGRAMS IDENTIFIED BUT NOT PROFILED (estimate only)
1. family violence	12	15
2. community offenders (justice panels)	6	11
3. criminal offenders (justice system)	7	26
4. substance abusers	10	10
5. identity strengthening programs	5	3

What becomes most apparent from this analysis is that a significant number of programs, whether profiled or not, aim their services toward a range of violent behaviour types rather than a single form. These tend to fall under some general category headings, including family violence, offenders in the community justice system, behaviours involving the criminal justice system and self-destructive and substance-abuse-related activities. As defined earlier, the authors recognise a certain program category, titled identity or identity-strengthening programs. Programs which fall into this classification often do not focus directly on any particular kind of violent behaviour, rather their efforts are aimed at either preventing at-risk people from falling prey to their vulnerability, or they attempt to heal the emotional and spiritual injury that is causing them to behave violently. Therefore, while the possibility of self-harming behaviour is reduced, rates of other forms of violence such as physical assault leading to homicide, spousal assault, rape and sexual assault and child violence might also be influenced.

The category of family violence, as nominated by various program deliverers, includes a number of the specific violence types defined by the authors, such as spousal assault, rape and sexual assault, psychological and economic abuse, cyclic abuse and occasionally child violence. However, many responses did not define what constitutes family violence. Most program providers did not produce a detailed breakdown of these broad typologies in either their responses to the authors' enquiries or in promotional materials. Very few programs of those surveyed are aimed at the category of child violence. Those that do are generally considering it as an extension of violence within the nuclear family and against wives and girlfriends.

The programs that aimed their attention at substance-abuse-related violence focussed most specifically on alcohol misuse rather than other kinds of illicit addictive drugs (heroin, marijuana etc). Experience, as reflected in the literature, shows that there are direct links between alcohol abuse and violent behaviour, and as such numerous programs attempt to target this contributing factor to violence. However, the relevant program profiles contain a lack of information clearly defining the particular violence forms that alcohol violence might take.

Deficiencies of literature on violence programs

- 1 As discussed above, there appears to be a lack of clear thinking on what forms of violence are being targeted by specific programs. Better focus on this aspect would, in the view of the authors, assist in more effective design of program methods.
- 2 There is a widespread lack of evaluations of programs reported in the literature and in the program profiles. Only six programs were identified that had received some reasonable evaluation that was in documented form. The problems of program evaluation will be discussed further in the next section.
- 3 One never reads what the program failings or difficulties are in the literature on programs. From the author's first-hand experience, this would include:
 - lack of suitable sectoral partnerships for program delivery
 - lack of coordination at the local level
 - lack of training and skills amongst program staff
 - lack of funding or insufficient funding
 - unethical community politics interfering with program execution
 - programs not necessarily directly targeted at the worst forms of violence in a community which may appear too awesome to tackle
 - programs being predominantly reactive and not balanced with proactive components to reduce incidents of violence
 - lack of coordination or fragmentation between State and Commonwealth goals and programs
 - violence intervention staff themselves become threatened and/or assaulted by violence perpetrators
 - over-stress ('burn out') amongst program staff through regularly dealing (both during and out of work hours) with the constant stress inducing occurrences of violence in the community

There is a need to examine these and other reasons that may undermine the success of programs when carrying out the evaluations of programs. Until better profiles of these problems are constructed, it will be difficult to develop systematic strategies to tackle such.

- 4 There is a general lack of information on the levels of staffing and funding for violence programs in the literature and profiles on programs. This makes it difficult to prepare estimates of budgets for regional, State or national strategies.

More can be done

The provision of any violence services or programs must be accompanied by an acknowledgment of the severity of Indigenous violence problems in the wider society. It is clear that programs need more secure funding, there are gaps, and more could be done to implement the findings of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody.

A visit in 1998 to 14 Aboriginal communities in North Queensland by the president of the Victims of Crime Association in Queensland (VOCAQ) and others to meet with victims who are eligible for criminal injury compensation found that, despite high levels of violence behaviour, violent crime and extreme degrees of violence, these communities are almost devoid of any services addressing these issues. Victims support and information services were non-existent other than women's and children's refuge centres which were poorly designed and resourced and in some communities inappropriately located to be able to offer good protection. Isolation has hampered the implementation of programs as well as exacerbating the problems (VOCAQ 1998).

Another gap is a clear lack of ongoing consultation with community members and agencies attempting to identify the specific means with which it is best to deal with family and domestic violence issues. Also women's legal services and refuge facilities for men were found to be lacking in number and quality. A further shortcoming was a lack of culturally-appropriate counselling services for Indigenous people, particularly for perpetrators, but also for victims. Others seen to be in need of counselling programs were substance abusers and people in need of financial management skills. Another important aspect of the service provision network that had been neglected was the training of police and other agency staff in dealing with Indigenous family violence situations in a culturally appropriate manner. Further to this was the identified need for Indigenous workers to be employed within relevant agencies, such as refuges and community centres. Finally, there can be a lack of information for dissemination among Indigenous people, aimed at raising their awareness of violence issues (pers. comm. 12/98, Venus Collar, Aboriginal Liaison Office, Federation of Western Australian Police and Citizens Youth Club Centres).

As there appear to be opportunities to improve support and prevention services, the next section will deal with strategies for both communities and governments to address violence.



SECTION 4

Strategies for combating Indigenous violence



Strategies

for combating

Strategies for combating Indigenous violence

Introduction

The examination and explanation of Indigenous violence within the conceptual framework of family violence provides an initial strategy with which to direct urgently required anti-violence programs. Such programs must primarily be directed at violence between intimates and kin (National Crime Prevention 1999:3).

This section elaborates a series of strategies for resolving, combating or preventing Indigenous family violence and treating the harm and stress arising from such violence. The literature on Indigenous violence and violence programs reveals a number of issues that need to be examined, namely the need for:

- 1 community-driven programs
- 2 community agencies to establish linkages and working relationships with each other and with relevant government agencies
- 3 composite violence programs that provide a more holistic approach to community violence

Drawing mainly from the literature, but also from the authors' own experience in Indigenous violence programs, a number of strategic steps can first be outlined to combat violence at a community level.

Understanding the case for community-driven programs

We maintain that to solve violence in Indigenous communities, it is necessary to work from the premise that an Indigenous community is as intelligent and capable of solving its own problems as any other community. Anyone offering simple solutions to the problems of violence is working from the assumption that Indigenous people do not have the intelligence or capability of solving their own problems. The question that should be asked is what is disempowering Indigenous people from solving their own problems.

The healing of individuals, families and communities requires far more than alcohol programs and far more than the implementation of legal-based programs. The key is something deeper, personal and communal as pointed out by Judy Atkinson:

I can provide a series of case studies which show the changes in people who have been courageous enough to look at themselves and work to transform their attitudes and

behaviours. These include men who have a history of domestic violence and sexually abusive attitudes, women who had been frozen in their childhood victimising experiences and who had been continuing to experience violence in their adult lives, Elders who have been working constructively to de-colonise themselves from the attitudes and behaviours they inherited from the colonisers. These changes have not occurred as a consequence of systemic legal processes however, but rather through an integration of Indigenous cultural processes for conflict management and group healing with therapeutic skills for trauma recovery in experiential learning workshops. This is the work of healing however, not legal institutions, which tend to continue to cause more problems than they solve ... (Atkinson 1996a:9).

Atkinson also warns of the tendency for governments to make a 'knee-jerk' and counter-productive response to adverse reports on Indigenous violence:

The demand for reactive services creates a danger of responding without accessing the resources and skills already within the community. As information mounts on community situations, Government bodies feel pressured to 'send in the troops'. It would be much better to build on the skills for dispute resolution, crisis counselling and intervention, and the resources such as safe houses in communities, etc., before providing standard mainstream Government support service structures (Atkinson 1990a:18–19).

In 1990 the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, which looked into initiatives aimed at addressing problems in Aboriginal communities, found that community imposed structures often failed to be culturally relevant and meet Aboriginal aspirations. Those initiatives which had emerged from within Indigenous communities and did meet community aspirations tended to perform better (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1990:41, 45, 133 cited in National Crime Prevention 1999:2). There are numerous case studies of violence programs in the literature that emphasise the advantages of such programs being community-driven.

The necessity for community-driven programs is made all the more apparent when it is realised that many Indigenous people are communicating their sense of powerlessness to deal with the current problems in their communities and families. In Blackman and Clarke's study of North Queensland Indigenous communities, for example, they found that every segment of the community explicitly expressed a sense of powerlessness in relation to major problems of social control (Blackman & Clarke 1991:6 cited in Chantrill 1997:10). Queensland Indigenous community members, given the opportunity to comment on matters of legislation affecting their own people in Queensland, called for greater autonomy and community self-management in administering justice and law (Queensland Government Legislation Review Committee, 1991:8, 33). The requirement that Indigenous communities be more self-determining was also one of the main recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991). This point is continually restated throughout the violence literature.

Miller, writing for the Aboriginal Coordinating Council, also emphasised the importance of using a community development approach, giving the example of one community which tried to resolve a number of problems that were threatening its social order. In this instance, the community development approach was based on the following premise: 'a firm belief that the community itself had the answers to the problems and that unless solutions were generated by

the community, it would not own these solutions and not have the will to make them succeed (Miller 1992b:17).

Another example of this was the implementation of a pilot Community Justice Group program in Kowanyama in 1993. This program implementation was guided by the simple, but plausible assumption that social problems and unacceptable behaviours were not separable from community life, so that any preventative and rehabilitative response should come from the community itself (Chantrill 1997:12). In describing the range of community-justice programs in operation in North Queensland communities, Chantrill (1998b:9) states:

The common attribute of the elements that are contributing to beneficial outcomes is that they are community-based and involve local people in the administration of justice, planning community-wide responses and conform to community needs and priorities. At Kowanyama this involves a practical focus on the activities of the justice group, the relationships it is developing with other community bodies and government agencies and its role in assisting in the formulation of community development oriented strategies to improve community life in its broadest sense at Kowanyama.

By providing local people at Kowanyama with the opportunity for a say in the operation of community justice and justice issues, there has, according to Chantrill, occurred a re-establishment of community authority. This occurred through drawing on the strength of local traditions, structures and patterns of authority to promote a greater sense of community ownership and responsibility for local justice issues and problems (Chantrill 1997:12).

Two anti violence projects being implemented in two Aboriginal communities in Western Australia—Derby, a regional city model, and Northam, a country town model—found that the specific situational factors and requirements of each place did not sit neatly with the mainstream definitions and practices of a crime prevention project (National Crime Prevention 1999:3). In these instances, it was found to be more appropriate that the anti violence intervention programs were established on a different model:

The models ... were established on the premise that crime prevention should set out to 'add value' to structures and processes with an already existing commitment to some facet of the problem and to utilise—in an extended and supplemented form—already existing multi-agency and/or networking groups. This suggestion quickly met with the approval of local professionals and community groups in both research sites, relieved at not having to establish yet another committee structure or, worse still, have one imposed on them (National Crime Prevention 1999:3).

One argument in favour of community-driven programs is their capacity to incorporate shaming methods which ideally can be implemented through existing social mechanisms, for example elders groups, community leaders. Braithwaite was one of the first researchers to analyse this technique, calling it 'reintegrative shaming':

... the theory of reintegrative shaming implies shifting responsibility for monitoring illegality back into the community along with responsibility for dealing with that illegality by informal processes of social control and conscience building (Braithwaite 1989:150 cited in Chantrill 1997:11–12).

Braithwaite's approach is based on the proposition that the way by which a society shames its members will influence the level of crime. La Prairie has also recognised the potential of shaming practices to strengthen traditional authority structures. La Prairie (1992:285) (cited in Chantrill 1997:10) writes:

At the heart of Braithwaite's argument is the belief that sanctions imposed on offenders by those whose opinions are of more importance to him or her will have more effect than those imposed by a remote legal authority ... By incorporating the belief that 'conscience is a much more powerful weapon to control behaviour than punishment', Braithwaite explains why some individuals commit crimes and others do not ...

Chantrill, who develops this argument (Chantrill 1997:10, 12) cites Finkler (1985:324) who draws a parallel with Inuit communities and the ineffectiveness of removing offenders from their community:

Presently, the offender's removal precludes the opportunity for accountability to the community or his confrontation with self. Consequently, the involvement of leaders, Elders, and church people in counselling, through the traditional means of group confrontation, enables the community to emphasise to the offender that his actions are disrespectful of Inuit lifestyle and culture, and that he must learn to be accountable for his actions.

The best interventions are often said to be those where action is taken quickly in relation to an incident of violence. It is often community members who are best positioned to implement swift action. For example, if members of a community are known to be regularly arrested by the police for being drunk and disorderly, it is better to organise supervised lifts home for them than to leave them to roam at large until trouble occurs, and they are arrested and incarcerated (Mugford & Nelson 1996:24–25). This approach is utilised in night-patrol programs in the Northern Territory and the Wungagutu Patrol (Western Australia) for young substance inhalers (Mugford & Nelson 1996:69). Aboriginal author Elsie Roughsey (1984:290, 210) has written how tribal law dealt with grievances relatively swiftly, whereas Western law 'wraps the trouble up in a bundle' and keeps it for a long time before dealing with it, allowing anger and hate to 'bubble up' again in the community. She argues that this is hardly necessary for less serious offences. Thus, another advantage of implementing community-based programs in Indigenous communities is that such matters may be dealt with prior to them escalating, and by respected community members empowered to do so. Relying solely on police or other non indigenous authority structures to enforce justice in communities serves only to reinforce the disempowerment of community authority.

Thus programs which are not designed around the premise of community management through community authority are likely to fail by perpetuating the helplessness and powerlessness which cultivate cycles of violence, but they also run the risk of worsening the types of violence discussed throughout this report. This point is reiterated throughout the Indigenous violence literature. For example:

It is now widely accepted that forms of intervention which do not work in an 'Aboriginal way' can themselves damage the social fabric of Indigenous community and compound the very conditions they seek to ameliorate. There is an imperative, therefore, to ensure that the project is run by, as well as for, Indigenous people (National Crime Prevention 1999:5).

It should also be affirmed that the push for community driven programs in Indigenous communities is not a directive to minimise the role of governments but rather that these require redefining. One clear way that government can demonstrate its intention to address Indigenous violence is genuine is to provide funding in the areas it is most needed. This point is expressed in Recommendation 235 of the RCIADIC which sets the parameters for an appropriate general approach by government.

That in the process of negotiating with Aboriginal communities and organisations in the devising of Aboriginal youth programs governments should recognise that community-based and devised strategies have the greatest prospect of success and this recognition should be reflected in funding (Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991:5).

Similarly, Mugford and Nelson (1996:2) have stated that ‘... the best interventions are those which involve the local community, those people who know the area, its problems, and which solutions are likely to work. Violence prevention models may be drawn from elsewhere, but they require a good deal of commonsense to render them locally relevant.’ Similarly, SNAICC, the national Indigenous child care peak body has recommended that the response to violence towards children must come from within the communities, albeit requiring government resources for support. This latter point is further qualified by stating that government input must also ensure that ‘Aboriginal people are given the right to self-determination in all child protection and abuse prevention policies and services’ (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996:10).

It is clear from the preceding analysis that once community-based ‘grass roots’ programs become successful, and publicised, they are likely to spread, and be adapted elsewhere in Indigenous Australia. This pattern is evident in the case of night patrols, which started in Tennant Creek, spread to Alice Springs and Katherine and then to remote Central Australian communities. They have now been adapted for use in both urban and remote settings in Western Australia, Queensland, New South Wales as well as Northern Territory. Indeed, an aim of this report is to assist in the ‘seeding’ of new programs so that they be adapted and used elsewhere.

Starting a violence program in a community

Publicly admitting the problem of violence in a community and acknowledging the need for collective action is the first step towards healing and combating such violence. However, admitting that there is a problem, particularly of the enormity that many communities are faced with today, can be a painful and shameful experience. There were women and men, at the Remote Areas Aboriginal Women’s Conference in Laura, Cape York (July 1991) who said: ‘when we speak out about our experiences we begin the healing process ...’ Atkinson (1991:6) goes on to explain: ‘Part of the ‘speaking out’ must be about our past, for the past explains the present, and determines the future. To deny the past is to deny us any ability to deal effectively with the present and therefore precludes us from a relevant future in our land.’

It is therefore important that facing up to violence occurs in a suitable and supportive setting. David Martin alludes to one aspect of this:

... there is a pervasive and powerfully argued view amongst many Aboriginal people that sensitive matters such as alcohol use, violence and suicide should not be discussed in public forums. These are matters for Aboriginal people only, it is asserted, and their airing to non-Aboriginal audiences only adds to [and perpetuates] racist stereotypes of Aboriginal people (Martin 1992:168).

In addition, as also pointed out by Martin (1992:168-9), there is a need to encourage the 'muted voices to express'. These include women who are victims of violence, abused or neglected children, youths and others at risk of suicide, self-mutilation, alcoholism or committing violence generally, rape victims, grandmothers who are left to mind neglected children and other community members, who rarely, if ever appear, on any committees or belong to councils.

If people within the community are already speaking out about violence, the first step could be a community meeting or a number of separate community meetings—for example, a women's meeting and a men's meeting, whatever is locally appropriate. Suggested aims of Community Meetings on Violence are:

- encourage some speaking out about violence problems in the community
- ensure that everyone gets a say and that factors that may inhibit this are overcome
- ensure that people who normally may not be heard on community matters have a voice
- encourage victims of violent abuse and crimes to speak out (at least some of the victims are likely to be able and willing to tell their story)
- give victims of violent abuse and crime some hope that something may be done
- see if a community mandate can be obtained to begin a violence strategy on its behalf
- see if a mandate to develop a community action plan can be given
- ensure that facilitators who have experience in Indigenous violence are involved in the meeting so that a safe environment is created for people to speak out

Existing community structures need to be considered and incorporated at this stage. In this regard, it is necessary to aim to overcome barriers to implementing programs created by pre-existing tensions between various community groups and agencies. The following strategies may be useful in starting a debate and consultation process on violence in a community.

- 1 Where a community is made up of Indigenous people from separate language groups or clan groups, it may be necessary to conduct meetings at this level, that is, hold a meeting with each separate group.
- 2 If an existing organisational structure is addressing some form of violence in the community (for example, health service, night patrol, women's shelter), using and expanding this structure (if it has general community support) may provide a more effective base for the introduction of additional violence programs than establishing new structures. It should be reiterated that decisions of this nature can only be decided by community members. The establishing of new community structures for implementing violence programs may, on the other hand, prove more effective if existing structures are operating ineffectively or preoccupied with other areas of community need.

- 3 Identification of the energy or stress levels in the community regarding violence issues including:
 - any existing programs or facilities for example night patrol, alcohol reduction programs, community counsellors, women's or crisis shelters?
 - who is most affected? Do they have a voice?
 - who is most outspoken about violence? (eg at community meetings, during public speaking, even participating in demonstrations as occurred in Alice Springs in about 1990)
 - do the local ATSIC Council or any other regional body have a position on violence?
- 4 Consider any gender bias in the council (many are male dominated which effectively excludes women from having a voice) and try to address this by seeking out alternative opinions (for example, a women's meeting, a young women's meeting, an older women's meeting, a 'concerned-about-violence' meeting). It has been noted by some authors and Aboriginal women that some men on community councils are also violence perpetrators, and consideration should be given to ways or strategies by which this can be sensitively taken into account at a council meeting. It is also very important to realise that in most communities, the victims and perpetrators of violence continue to co-exist and this may impact considerably on whether people will speak out about violence. This will be especially significant of rape or child abuse victims.
- 5 In communities where a high level of violence exists but publicly speaking out about it is uncommon, it may be worthwhile conducting a survey within the community. This should be done by appropriately selected neutral, but sensitive, personnel, and processed within the community. Anonymity of participants must be preserved. The results of this can be made available to community members in a variety of ways and as a precursor to further community action.
- 6 Consideration and development of ways to get children to speak out about violence, for example artwork, small group discussions, plays and games. This should not be undertaken without prior and adequate community consultation, nor without adequate professional advice and input that is specific to child abuse and for children of violent families.

A key lesson here is that one must take into consideration already existing programs, proposals and initiatives where there may be clear signs of a community energy level which could be tapped into for establishing a local anti violence campaign. The specific circumstances of each community must be considered for the design and implementation of programs. Blagg (National Crime Prevention 1998:1) expressed this as 'a careful analysis and mapping of the institutional and cultural context of the locality and consultations with stake holders and communities.' He explains this and other design factors further:

It is now widely accepted that the protocol of listening to, and negotiating with, Indigenous communities should lead any research and policy initiative which may impact upon them, rather than this becoming simply an annex to other forms of inquiry. Moreover, Indigenous people remain adamant that respect for Indigenous culture requires that due weight be accorded to the unique qualities of specific Indigenous peoples and places. While such local factors may not be sufficiently unique to make lessons from schemes developed in

one area non-transferable to others, they may influence both the character of local problems and possible solutions.

For example, such factors as the form and strength of traditional law and culture operating in a locality may impact both on local problems (some family violence may be the result of pay back or violations of law) and on solutions (determining who should be involved in working with perpetrators, victims and young people).

One key cultural factor which may have implications for violence related work is the persistence of women's law in a particular place. Women's law is traditionally strong throughout most of the Kimberley region of Western Australia which has given women an authority and confidence to speak on issues of family violence—not just in terms of its inappropriateness in the modern context but to raise questions about its place within traditional society. Women in the Kimberley, as they have in the Northern Territory, are active in developing night patrols, refuges and shelters and in the policing of 'dry' communities (National Crime Prevention 1999:1).

Miller (1992b) found that in developing programs to try to reduce violence in Aboriginal communities, it is fundamental that the social structure of the community be understood and incorporated into any programs. It was found, for example, that in one North Queensland community's efforts to resolve some of its problems, the community could not be treated as a single social entity. This community had a large number of clan groups whose respective cultures were strong and with which people clearly identified. In addition, people also identified with family and regional ceremonial associations. One of the major clues to the existing tension in this settlement was that the church, with government support, had created an artificial community. It was therefore important in this situation to have discussions with all the major clan group leaders as well as with other community organisations before any strategies or programs could be planned (Miller 1992b:17).

The need for composite programs using a holistic approach

The need for a community based holistic approach to the problems ... both to deal with offenders and to assist victims, cannot be over emphasised (Atkinson 1990b:14–15).

The need for composite programs to combat and heal the effects of violence was raised in the previous section. Composite programs are made up of a range of sub-programs, but to comprise a truly holistic approach, these sub-programs need to be designed to target all forms of violence in the community and to combine both reactive and proactive strategies. The literature review and national survey of programs have revealed a number of such composite programs that have been designed and that have been, or are being used, in communities. An earlier attempt at a holistic approach was the Aboriginal Coordinating Council (Cairns) which designed an integrated community approach to crime prevention that dealt with personal, social and political factors, prevention, treatment and rehabilitation (Miller 1992b:21).

During 1991–92, a holistic approach called the Social Behaviour Project (Mwerre Anetyeke Mparntwele) was developed by Tangentyere Council in Alice Springs to comprise a long-term

program to socialise the Aboriginal residents of Central Australia into styles of healthy social behaviour, in response to alcohol violence and other associated widespread anti-social behaviour. The problem behaviours included alcohol-related violence (including stabbings and murders), inappropriate sexual behaviour, the spending of money on liquor, leaving little or none for food, the ignoring of obligations to non-drinking relatives, neglect of commitments to work and study, damage to personal public property, and inappropriate behaviour towards host families by bush visitors. The reaction by Aboriginal leaders led to the self-motivated formation of an Aboriginal male elders group in early 1991, which was committed to Aboriginal Law, and become known as the 'Four Corners Council'. This informal elders council grew in strength to become the controlling authority over the Social Behaviour Project (Memcott *et al* 1993:3,4).

The ideological and methodological approach in the Social Behaviour Project was a more holistic one involving both reactive and proactive aspects in relation to the problem, and combining many divergent albeit interrelated problem dimensions, including behavioural norms, leadership, social cohesion, social authority, conflict management, communal policing and punishment techniques, educational techniques, social organisation and structure, and social identity with sacred sites and dreamings. Emphasis was placed on culturally-appropriate methods, drawing on traditional Aboriginal concepts when available, relevant and applicable, for example, the use of the square-up concept, the authority role of elders (Memcott *et al* 1993:20).

The project began as a series of integrated sub-programs, relying for foundation on a process of research design, trial implementation and evaluation. These sub-programs included:

- 1 preferred and non-preferred behaviour
- 2 conflict management and mediation
- 3 leadership and social cohesion
- 4 education strategy
- 5 participation in the government's judicial and corrective services systems
- 6 river campers rehabilitation strategy
- 7 counteracting centralisation trends in the wider region (to reduce the use of Alice Springs as a regional alcohol consumption centre)
- 8 research components
- 9 program evaluation

The recommendations made in the SNAICC Plan of Action (Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care 1996) fall under three headings: the first is 'education and awareness development', the second is 'systemic/resources', and the third 'policy'. These are supported by a set of specific implementation strategies that stress the importance of developing culturally-appropriate and distinct means of intervention, recognising the vital role to be played by empowered Indigenous communities, and taking a holistic view of the subject. Readers are referred to the document above for further detail on recommendations and their associated strategies.

A more recent initiative in the Northern Territory that not only involves a community-based holistic programming approach but is founded on a partnership approach is the Aboriginal Family Violence Strategy (AFVS) facilitated through the Women's Health Strategy Unit of Territory Health Services.

The basic philosophy of the AFVS is that Aboriginal people are best suited to find solutions appropriate to them and that these solutions should reflect autonomy, integrity and enable choice. A community-based approach provides a mandate or authority for and from the people who have to live with the consequences of their decisions. Furthermore, it provides a framework, or process, from which communities can identify, achieve and monitor their own objectives (Office of Womens Policy 1996).

Using this approach, the basic steps to be implemented in a community with the facilitators are:

- a gathering essential background information about the particular community
- b briefing the council and other key stakeholders on the AFVS
- c forming a community action group to develop and implement the action plan
- d developing a community action plan to address family violence
- e implementing the strategy contained in this plan once it has been handed over to the community and signed off on (and possibly linking with other communities)
- f evaluating the strategy; monitoring and supporting community initiatives

In this project, funding was to be initially provided for the employment of project officers, one in each district, and another stationed at head office fulfilling a support and training role. The teams in each district were to help develop the community action plan. They were then required to support the community in implementing change. The training of the community people supplying support services like safe houses, night patrols, and men's meeting places was being developed at the time of writing. Also, two Tiwi communities had completed action plans. One of these action plans contained the following proposed programs:

- l create action groups to address issues
- l develop social activities for men
- l regular review of drinking practices
- l create system of penalties at sports and social club
- l create position of social harmony officer
- l establish a men's centre
- l extend focus of women's centre
- l construct centre for the elderly
- l establish drop-in centres for youth
- l develop education and awareness programs
- l night patrols
- l identify services for alcohol dependent people (for example, counselling)

- provide information on services for legal, relationship, finance, gambling services
- provide training for community-based service providers

An important and essential component of the project above is partnership with government, which not only provides funding sources, but provides a regional support system of skilled personnel to assist with community initiatives. This formal organisation at the regional level is largely absent from other program profiles.

The provision by government of a regional support network for violence programs makes sense both in terms of the potential value of the support, the logistics of scale and the social organisation of Aboriginal communities into cultural regions. On this last point, it is worth mentioning that within such cultural regions there are characteristically high residential dynamics. Thus, in Tangentyere's Social Behaviour project, it was necessary to network with 28 communities surrounding Alice Springs to deal with violence problems in Alice Springs involving the impact of visitors (temporary or semi permanent) from these outer regions. Similarly a community-based approach to violence in the other regional centres of Australia (eg Katherine, Broome, Mt Isa and Bourke) would need to take the same phenomenon into account (see Memmott 1991a:196–204.) Similarly, writing on Victoria, one of the smallest States, Matthews (1997:15) concluded that Statewide policies are not equally applicable in all areas. Rather there is a need for a geographic specific focus which includes local knowledge and sensitivity to local issues, and flexibility in dealing with community organisations.

CASE STUDY ON THE STARTING OF A HOLISTIC VIOLENCE PROGRAM

Interview with Palm Island Councillor Steve Walsh Snr and Project Officer Sharon Lam Sam by Christine Howes, extract from *Koori Mail*, 21/10/98

Focus on Palm Island

VISION PLAN PROVING A LIFE-SAVER

'Our young people in the community have been dying at the rate of at least one a month from self-harm and that's mainly through hangings', Steve Walsh said.

'Most of them were young males between the ages of 15 and 25 and there were two young women who had killed themselves.

'I'm only talking about the ones that have been successful, I guess, the hangings, I'm not talking about the ones that have slipped through the net, the ones that were undetected and unsuccessful.

'We sat down and we talked about one young man who died and there's something strange about this young bloke, what's he crying for?

'He walked away and a couple of days later we were talking about the incident and about that young man, how it was weird that he was crying.

'It wasn't until we had this conversation again that we came to the conclusion that there must be something wrong with how we approach this.'

Mr Walsh said they decided they had waited long enough for government agencies to co-ordinate what they were doing and called a meeting with the men in the community.

'We called a meeting with about four or five older men and we spoke about dying, how they died, about the lack of education, lack of work, lack of activities, lack of sporting facilities and what we were doing as a council to make life more bearable for younger people', he said.

'We weren't getting too many answers so we decided we'd call another meeting and bring a few extra blokes and by the time this had gone on for about two months or so we ended up with about 40 or 50 older men and young men to work in different areas of education, alcohol rehabilitation and health services for Murri fellas and we set up the men's business group.

'From there we talked to other groups in the community like the hospital, the business people and the council about how we can set up work programs, how we could improve life, how we could get recreation officers on board, tourism and sports people.

'When we talked about self-harm and brought all these people together we wanted to put this vision plan together and that all just sort of fell into place with the meetings that happened, so we could improve the quality of life not only for your young people but for the community as a whole.'

Project officer for the Palm Island Council and a member of the Vision Plan Health Sub-committee, Sharon Lam Sam, said her committee was one of five which were part of the Vision Plan.

'The health sub-committee has been really to the forefront, especially as it's seen as the one which addresses all the underlying factors which contribute to our everyday work,' she said.

'When we look at suicide we look at the reasons, factors such as employment, low self-esteem, whether that's contributed by alcohol abuse, substance abuse or those sorts of things.'

Ms Lam Sam said each of the committees looked at their own area, with members meeting regularly to co-ordinate.

'So we look at all of those things in great detail and try and address each one right down to the finest detail', she said.

'We look at alcohol and drugs, substance abuse, the law and justice side of it with regards to policing and other things, we look at family and youth issues especially in regard to our family unit as we know it as with our extended families and how the breakdown has occurred, and how we can look at getting that back again. We also look at the employment side so we have an economic and business development sub-committee through which we are trying to create more employment.

'In an ideal world a combination of all these things needed to happen straight away and at the same time but we know that this is impossible so each of these sub-committees is working behind the scenes.'

Relationships and partnerships between groups

So far this section has been preoccupied with the community-based approach to tackling Indigenous violence. However, very few local programs can operate without some form of government support.

For genuine improvement in conditions in Indigenous communities to occur, and for the anti-violence programs to be implemented effectively with long-term benefits, there needs to be input from, and coordination between, the many sectors of Indigenous and non-Indigenous service delivery. One way of coordinating responses in this way is through the establishment and nurturing of working relationships or partnerships between community groups or organisations and service delivery agencies, both government and non-government. The Kowanyama Community Justice Group, for example, found that promoting an understanding of the community operation of their program amongst mainstream participants in the justice system resulted in an improvement in the community's relationship with local and external justice agencies. Partnerships may thus be established between community-based programs and the local justice system to benefit one another in various ways.

Another example was the establishment of Tangentyere Council's Social Behaviour Project in 1991–92 which involved networking with six Commonwealth departments or authorities, 14 State government departments or authorities, eight local non-Aboriginal agencies or authorities, 15 Aboriginal organisation in Alice Springs, 28 Aboriginal communities in the wider Central Australian region, and various local, State and Commonwealth government politicians. Within this huge network of parties the most active and productive networking was between the project staff, Alice Springs and Central Australian elders, Alice Springs police, jail staff, ambulance, hospital, town council, night patrol, CAAAPU (alcohol treatment), CAAMA (media association), IAD (adult education), and the town campers (Memmott 1993 *et al*:14,15).

However, a potential threat to the consolidation of local justice initiatives or the establishment of partnerships, may also be the broader or existing basis of interaction between communities and government agencies (including police, magistrates and corrective service officials) and the extent to which these agencies seek to regulate and limit the community-based processes (Chantrill 1997:12).

The principle of establishing partnerships is highlighted in the literature in a number of ways. Matthews (1997), for example, states that optional service delivery to local communities requires 'cross-overs' with the various departments (Matthews 1997:16), and that the best interventions involve partnerships between groups that can bring different perspectives and different degrees of authority to a particular problem. Often, such partnerships are between community groups and the police. This principle is in operation in at least one Northern Territory community where the concept of 'two laws' informs the way in which local disputes and offences are handled. This approach is based on two categories of offences or wrongs known locally as 'big trouble' and 'little trouble', the former of which is dealt with by police in collaboration with community leaders, the latter, which refers predominantly to a category of wrongs that involve knowledge of local social and kinship matters (generally referred to as family law/disputes by non indigenous Australians) is exclusively presided over by community leaders and elders (Williams 1987:13). For other examples including successful programs which use this principle see Mugford & Nelson 1996.

However, the ability to establish and maintain effective partnerships or ‘cross-overs’ is no easy task. In Victoria, efforts at training and employment of Koori people in the justice system were not met with unqualified success anywhere (Matthews 1997). In assessing the efficacy of this type of program, significant gaps were revealed in many areas, some of which could be addressed by means of traineeships, placements and cadetships (Matthews 1997:9,17,18). However, there are likely to be less obvious factors that persistently affect such programs, such as the history of relationships between Indigenous people and police, misconceptions about the reasons why Indigenous people continue to suffer in their own communities, and lack of cultural understanding and training by mainstream service agency staff.

Other issues that may need to be addressed prior to the establishment of partnerships include:

- finding systematic ways of achieving relevant input at the local level (Matthews 1997:15)
- re-examination of the existing bases for establishing community links and liaisons and modes of consultation with Aboriginal agencies (Matthews 1997:15)
- improved coordination between government departments and agencies to make them more accessible (Southside Domestic Violence Action Group 1994:4)
- improvement in the responses by public sector agencies, which are often considered to be inadequate (Bolger 1991:93; note that Bolger lists such strategies to improve public sector response, Bolger 1991:94–100)
- the need for all legal personnel to have training in Indigenous social and cultural matters

Aboriginal-police relations

Currently, the most likely course of action when dealing with violence in Indigenous communities involves the police. This is discounting the large proportion of incidents that go unreported. A lot was written about this in the literature which was both positive and negative. If police are continually the main avenue for help, then a lot is required of them. According to some sources, police working in remote communities, as well as urban and rural police, are not adequately trained to deal with the situations they are faced with. Some of the main criticisms are:

- lack of cultural training amongst police officers
- police turn a blind eye to family violence
- police sometimes remove the victim rather than the offender, either because of bias, or because legislation prevents them from removing the offender, unless the person was caught in the act of committing violence

Further associated police-related issues that are raised in the literature include:

- distance of community from police station
- availability of police
- performance of police aides—some are proficient and the first to be there when called, but others are not so responsive—a problem exists where police aides have relations in the community and will not act against them despite their violence (Bolger 1991)
- the need for cooperation by police with night patrols

- Indigenous people need to be able to believe that the police are easily accessible and willing to listen and help them to find their own best solutions (Bolger 1991:74)
- legislation that gives the police the power to forcibly enter premises where they believe an injury, or threat of an injury, to a person could occur is needed; and to remain there as long as is necessary to deal with the situation; and to issue a restraining order if violence has occurred or is likely to occur (Bolger 1991:75)

Violence and the judicial system

One interface between Indigenous people and the wider society which is still criticised for its lack of appropriate service delivery and lack of cultural awareness is the judiciary. One study in which this was revealed was Lloyd and Rogers (1993) who, on behalf of Central Australian and Western Desert women's groups, outlined ways in which courts need to be sensitive to the issues faced by Indigenous women giving evidence in sexual assault/rape cases:

- decrease the number of males present
- consider a closed court
- not detaining the victim longer than necessary in the witness box
- allow for a support person to be present with Aboriginal female victims
- maintain an awareness of the kinship relationship and accompanying behavioural expectations or restrictions between victims and others giving evidence in relation to rape (or other serious matters) in court
- maintain an awareness for other potential customary taboos that may affect court processes and the quality of evidence
(Lloyd & Rogers 1993:153–162.)

Further relevant priorities for actions recommended by Bolger and pertaining to Indigenous women in court:

- all legal personnel working in Indigenous communities should have training in Indigenous social matters ('Judges and magistrates arrived with a knowledge of the law but with all the prejudice and ignorance of the community ... They proceeded to make decisions without seeing the consequences of those decisions')
- Indigenous women require female lawyers to deal with their cases (Bolger 1991:80,85).

Program evaluation

As mentioned in the previous section, there is a general lack of reported program evaluation in the Indigenous violence literature and in the program profiles. Only six programs were identified that had some reasonable evaluation in written form:

- Western Australian Alternate Dispute Resolution Service
- Ngukurr Community Warden Scheme, Northern Territory

- NPY Women's Domestic Violence Program, South Australia/Northern Territory/
Western Australia
- Kowanyama Community Justice Group, Queensland
- Sobering-up Facilities, Western Australia
- Petford Training Farm, Queensland

There are a number of reasons for the lack of evaluations, some of which have been mentioned by Mugford and Nelson (1996:2) in their overview of programs:

... Many of the projects are run on small budgets and they began operations relatively recently. In some cases, the cost of an evaluation would outweigh running costs, which would undermine the capacity of the project to undertake its violence prevention work. Even where evaluations are possible, a longer period of time may be needed in order to estimate both long and short term effects. This is not intended as an apology for any perceived lack of evaluation with respect to these projects, but to place the role of evaluation in perspective. Indeed, evaluation is extremely important ... Much more investment in evaluation is needed, but not at the expense of precious operational dollars (Mugford & Nelson 1996:2).

One of the main difficulties of implementing a program evaluation is the effective design of a low-cost evaluation technique that draws on accessible and reliable data and which provides a true reflection of the program's performance.

The types of data that may be useful for evaluating a program include:

- hospital records
- night patrol records
- police records
- court convictions records
- ambulance records
- women's refuge records
- court records
- sobering-up shelter records
- prison records

However, there may be methodological difficulties in (i) getting permission to access such data, (ii) extracting the data in a form that is useful and relevant to the program under evaluation, (iii) understanding whether changes in the incidence of violence are a result of the program under evaluation or are being influenced by other factors and programs in the community. Some of the agencies above may be prepared to amend or expand their records or data collection systems to overcome some of these difficulties.

Another related aspect of evaluation is a need to design systems that accurately monitor violence incidents within communities so that such records may be used to periodically inform the community on the severity of its own social problems. This information may also be used to develop or amend specific programs for particular forms of violence.

Summary of guidelines for local violence strategies

In the early part of this section, it was argued that the most effective programs are local, voluntary community-based initiatives, set up 'on the frontlines' of violence to intervene on a one-to-one basis. Such initiatives have generated programs that were then taken up by other communities due to their potential for effective application in Indigenous community contexts, for example

- night patrols
- men's support groups
- elders groups (male and female)
- project ideology and authority structure, based on Aboriginal systems of laws and customs

From previous consideration of other violence-prevention programs, one would have to conclude that any coherent response must encompass the full range of factors involved. Programs should aim to (a) provide support and practical assistance to those in immediate danger, (b) treat the trauma of the violence experience, (c) seek permanent change in the perpetrator through a variety of means including appropriate punishment and rehabilitation, (d) allow communities to own the substantial share in any program's operation and subsidiary benefits, (e) raise the awareness of the Indigenous community on ways to identify and deal with the problem, and (f) erode the powerful forces drawing people into the cycle of violent behaviour.

We can now state further that best practice models or programs recognise (a) how being focused towards a community helps to provide culturally-sensitive treatment for violent people, (b) how communities involved in, and in control of, judicial and other matters benefit from an increased sense of cohesion, from learning about how the mainstream police, judicial and court systems work, and (c) the benefits of creating a collaboration between agencies such as the police, the judiciary, local councils and correction authorities. Best practice models also recognise that there are complex social and psychological factors involved in many forms of violence that need to be dealt with in a holistic manner and require community wide attention. They also recognise alcohol as an important factor that needs to be dealt with, within an overall program. There is a need to be reactive, and proactive, in coping with violent behaviours.

The following best practice schemes are chosen for emphasis because they incorporate a number of program types within their make-up.

- NPY Women's Domestic Violence Service (South Australia, Western Australia, Northern Territory)
- Alternative Dispute Resolution Service, Western Australia
- Indigenous Therapies Course, Rockhampton, Queensland
- Mwerre Anetyeke Mparntwele/Social Behaviour Project, Northern Territory
- Kowanyama Community Justice Group, Queensland
- Services to Aboriginal Families Program, New South Wales

In establishing one or more violence programs in a community, the following key steps have been recommended:

- 1 identify where the community 'energy' lies in regard to violence issues and base strategic initiatives on this assessment
- 2 identify the forms of violence prevalent in the community and their characteristics
- 3 design a community action plan to deal with family violence, which comprises specific strategies and violence programs, and incorporating both reactive and proactive strategies to the occurrence of violence
- 4 identify suitable existing community-based organisational structures or agencies which could be extended and supplemented in some way to incorporate anti-violence programs; alternatively, establish new structures
- 5 identify and envisage how other key players and stakeholders may be mobilised and assigned a role in the process (see National Crime Prevention 1999:4, for further details on this model)
- 6 identify the sites or locations where violence intervention would take place and ensure programs target such sites

Some Indigenous violence priorities

The following strategic recommendations on violence have been selected to reflect Indigenous priorities, albeit as formulated at different times during the 1990s. They have been reproduced or adapted from recommendations made by committees, workshops or meetings of concerned Indigenous people or from researchers engaged by Indigenous organisations. Some of the key sources of these recommendations are as follows:

- 1 the first State-wide meeting in New South Wales of Aboriginal women, in Dubbo, June 1990, which made a number of recommendations on domestic violence (in Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991e:344–5)
- 2 the Central Metropolitan Prevention of Domestic Violence Committee's Regional Plan for Victoria Park through to Kenwick in Western Australia (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan 1996)
- 3 *Proposed Plan of Action for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Aboriginal Communities* prepared by the Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (1996)
- 4 recommendations from a meeting on Indigenous violence convened in Brisbane by Mrs Leneen Forde (former Governor of Queensland), 19/11/98

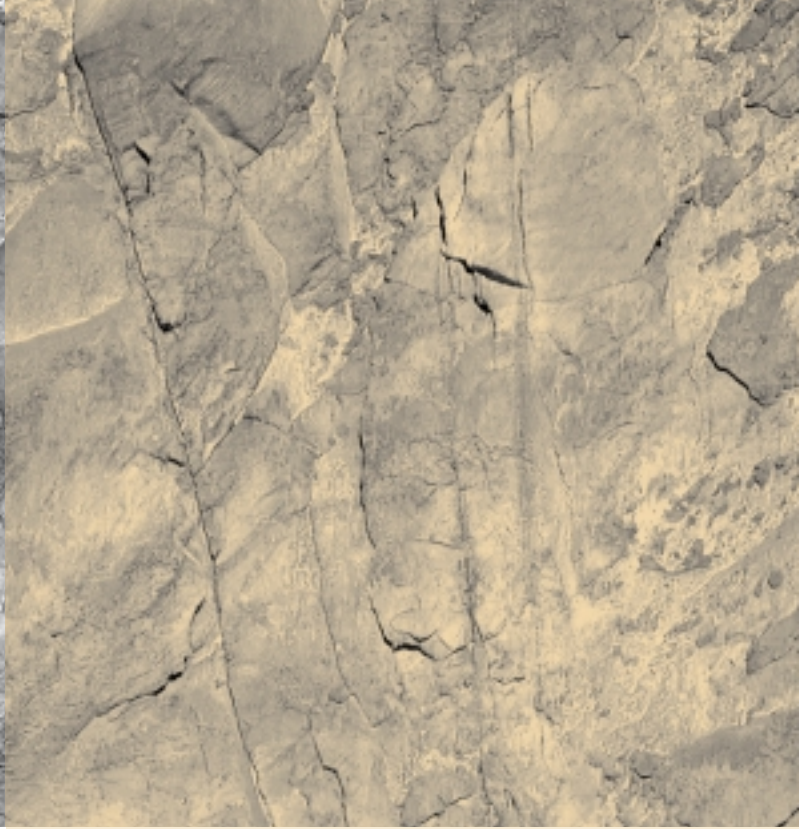
INDIGENOUS PRIORITIES FOR ACTION FOR REACTIVE PROGRAMS AND STRATEGIES:

- the SDVAG, in a study on domestic violence among Indigenous people, found that there was a need for culturally-appropriate rehabilitation programs to be facilitated by Indigenous people for Indigenous men in prison [presumably, in this case, for committing violence on their partners] (Southside Domestic Violence Action Group 1994:4)
- there is a need for locally-known Aboriginal workers who can act as resource people and sources of further education in healing processes. Previous adverse treatment by government workers, doctors, social workers etc., makes it hard for many Aboriginal people to trust non-Indigenous workers in these areas. All people working in the violence area should be sensitive to this and be aware of the issues (Breckenridge & Carmody 1992:194)
- it is important that communities begin to see and hear what they are doing to themselves (Atkinson 1990c:8). This can be facilitated through educational programs
- there is a need for more Indigenous health and welfare workers in hospitals if victims of violence are to be adequately assisted (Bolger 1991:86)
- there is a need for more women's shelters and refuges (Bolger 1991)
- funding for refuge staff to be available 24 hours a day (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan, 1996)
- medium-term housing for women and children escaping domestic violence (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan, 1996)
- the establishment of Aboriginal Family Support Centres supplying counselling and general information (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan, 1996)
- more refuges for Indigenous men (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan, 1996)
- there is an urgent need for equitable employment of Indigenous women as community police and community-based Indigenous women to be involved in the selection of community police, for both male and female positions (public meeting on violence, Brisbane, 19/11/98)
- ensure that all existing facilities that have been provided to communities for alternatives to the criminal justice system also be provided with facilitators, which is not currently the case (public meeting on violence, Brisbane, 19/11/98)
- a strategy for setting up safe houses for Indigenous women and children in needy centres to be developed by a team of skilled Indigenous workers in consultation with community women (Dubbo women's meeting, June 1990)
- a program to be developed to employ and train Aboriginal women as interviewers/ investigators in situations of family violence, and trained female Aboriginal police, to be employed to deal with Aboriginal women in cases of abuse (Dubbo women's meeting, June 1990)

INDIGENOUS PRIORITIES FOR ACTION FOR PROACTIVE PROGRAMS AND STRATEGIES

- management planning and control of alcohol in communities to reduce risks of violence (Bolger 1991, Koch 1998, Atkinson 1991, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991d)
- there is an urgent requirement for social alternatives (diversionary programs) for young people in communities apart from alcohol and violence (Bolger 1991:48, Gladman *et al* 1997)
- there is a need for government and legal institutions to support Aboriginal people to do the work of healing, rebuilding, regenerating and restoring (Atkinson 1996a:9)
- one specific and urgently required focus for family violence programs is that of 'breaking the cycle of violence' through intervention programs aimed primarily at young people, particularly those who are clearly both witnessing and experiencing violence from a young age. But the introduction of such programs targeting young individuals, for example through the school or outreach work, were considered to require the involvement of some of the significant members of the young person's family environment such as parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles (National Crime Prevention 1999:3)
- a need for gazetted by-laws in some Aboriginal communities by which an Aboriginal community can consider and take action on social problems, for example banning pornographic videos (Atkinson 1990c:7)
- preventative programs to be facilitated within the education system (Western Australia, Central Metropolitan, 1996)
- community Violence workers should be established in all communities (public meeting on violence, Brisbane, 19/11/98)
- ensure that women from Aboriginal communities have a say in the selection of community police (public meeting on violence, Brisbane, 19/11/98)
- need for continuation of professional support services for violence programs. Currently some services are provided for one or two years and then funding is not continued. Long term strategies are desperately needed (public meeting on violence, Brisbane, 19/11/98)
- a holistic strategy for the provision of services to the victims and perpetrators of domestic violence (Dubbo women's meeting, June 1990)
- initiatives which foster Aboriginal independence and give Aborigines more power in relation to their lives (Dubbo women's meeting, June 1990)
- Attorney-General's Department and other government departments should consider funding for an Indigenous Centre for Community Justice (Atkinson 1990c:8)
- a flexible approach by governments to community requests for resourcing is essential (Bolger 1991)

An international Indigenous anti-violence strategy that is the basis for programs currently operating in Indigenous communities in Canada and New Zealand is based on the ideology of 'Heal the spirit and you will heal the problems' (Canadian Native Workers, in Hazlehurst 1997). It is significant that this approach is making changes towards reducing violence in Indigenous communities in Canada and New Zealand. However this approach has apparently not yet been strongly adopted in Australia (some suggest that it has been avoided), whereas in Canada and New Zealand these principles form part of the 'bi-cultural landscape' and occupy a respectable place at the negotiation table in race relationships and administrative reform (Hazlehurst 1997).



Appendices



Appendix 1

Appendix 1

Methodology

Background

The consultancy was conducted in two phases. The first phase was to result in preliminary priorities for a strategic framework on violence prevention, and options for a demonstration project. As part of the process of identifying priorities, the literature review and consultations had to meet the following objectives:

- 1 to analyse the available literature and develop a classification of the types of violence experienced by Indigenous people
- 2 to analyse available records of past consultations with Aboriginal communities on issues relating to violence
- 3 to identify available key strategies and programs that relate to violence prevention in Indigenous communities

The second phase was revised upon completion of phase 1. Rather than develop a demonstration project, it was agreed that this phase would involve refining the findings for phase 1 and developing a more considered strategy and set of recommendations.

Appraising existing research

- 1 A preceding team of researchers had begun the necessary review of literature. The research team of Paul Memmott and Associates (PMA) was able to access this bibliographic work, and incorporate it into its own literature review process. Contact was established with Assoc. Prof. Rod McClure of the Centre of National Research on Disability and Rehabilitation Medicine (CONROD), a head of the previous research team, which had begun the creation and maintenance of a database of publications on violence in Indigenous communities in Australia, to serve as a resource for facilitating the development of quality violence-related health-promotion programs in Queensland (extracted from the website).
- 2 Access to this resource was gained at the website <http://gecko.cc.uq.edu.au>. The literature items recovered by the previous team were then copied for analysis by the PMA research team.
- 3 Information regarding methodology supplied by the previous team revealed that the following electronic databases had been investigated:

- a) AUSTROM:CINCH (Criminology) and AUSTROM:FAMILY (Family and Society) from the Australian Institute of Criminology, using the keywords 'Aboriginal' and 'violence'.
 - b) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Clearinghouse Bibliography supported by the Commonwealth Department of Health and Family Services and the School Health Studies, Edith Cowan University, using the keywords 'violence', 'domestic violence', 'deaths-in-custody' and 'justice'.
- 4 Further to this, the bibliography supplied with the 'Request for Expressions of Interest' document supplied by NCP was investigated and its relevant sources extracted. The University of Queensland's links to remote databases published on the web provided access to InfoTrac and the Heath Reference Centre—Academic. The document 'Indigenous Health Promotions Resources—A Guide For Health Workers—2nd Edition' was surveyed and relevant materials added to the bibliography. Also, through the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) website, a search was made of the Implementation of Recommendations from the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC) Research Register.
 - 5 National Anti-Crime Strategy officers in all State governments had been canvassed by the previous team to elicit information regarding violence prevention in their jurisdictions.
 - 6 Other personal contacts PMA approached to identify further relevant material.

Consultation with key stakeholders

Various strategies were used to identify and make contact with individuals, agencies, government departments and community groups involved in violence prevention programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities (eg ATSIC, State government domestic violence units, Aboriginal Affairs departments, justice departments, Aboriginal cooperatives and agencies etc). Program information obtained in this fashion can be found in Appendix 2. The strategies employed to achieve this may be summarised as follows:

- 1 Internet searches were undertaken for likely persons and organisations, their contact addresses and telephone numbers. These searches included the Telstra White Pages, the Australian Institute of Criminology and the NCP websites.
- 2 Networks were established through personal contacts and approaches made to people involved with known Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations.
- 3 Government departments and agencies were canvassed via the Internet, telephone and by mail.
- 4 Aboriginal health services, community groups and other Indigenous organisations were canvassed.
- 5 Various reports and publications were consulted. The 1997 report from the Ministerial Summit on Indigenous Deaths in Custody, *Speeches and Papers from the Summit*, provided a summary of best-practice violence program examples from each State and Territory in Australia.

- 6 Articles and advertisements relating to violence programs from newspapers such as *Koori Mail*, *The Australian* and *The Courier Mail* were followed up.
- 7 It was suggested that ATSI legal services keep records of incidents of Indigenous family violence, even though under their operation guidelines, such services are usually unable to become involved in these types of cases. Upon making inquiries, the authors were advised by the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services Secretariat (NAILSS) that no statistics were kept at the national level. Further inquiries to the QEA Legal Service in Brisbane revealed that this service did not keep statistics either.
- 8 Once contact had been established via telephone, relevant agencies were sent an inquiry package to facilitate the collection of material on their policies and programs and which assisted in the assessment of the nature and recognisable outcomes of each program. A standard *pro forma* letter for profiling these programs was included in this package. The standard bundle featured a letter of introduction from the NCP, a letter explaining in more detail this firm's expectations for responding parties and a two-page *pro forma*. Information gathered during the literature collection, and articles specifically referring to certain programs, were used to begin the profiling process. These profiles are found in an earlier version of this report, and are of restricted access.

Certain problems arose because of the difficulty in reaching people in remote locations, whether by telephone or mail. Often it was discovered that in States where the network of providers was less known to the consultancy team, much time was spent determining who managed various violence prevention programs. In many instances, targeted individuals did not respond, and required a second and third information package to be forwarded to them via fax. Even then, some still failed to respond despite verbal promises. Agencies of all kinds, whether government or private, were found to be difficult to contact, partly due to turnover of personnel. Others, pressured by lack of resources, were reluctant to respond, or were disconcerted by what they saw as the researchers' demands.

9 Limitations on consultations

Due to the time and budget constraints on consultation, the authors had to prioritise consultation with those groups or agencies who were actively running anti-violence programs in Indigenous communities. If some public servants, government departments, and allied Indigenous agencies who have a concern about violence and a wish to be involved in this project, have been by-passed for consultation, we offer our apologies.

Phase 1 concluded with a presentation of the research findings (in draft report form) to the Project Management Group, together with a review of the research progress and a discussion on the possible scope for phase 2 and its outcomes.

Phase 2 of the study

The tasks completed by the consultants in phase 2 were as follows:

- 1 Further consultations with key stakeholders to expand and make more complete the profiles of violence programs.
- 2 Further analysis of the literature to refine the strategic framework and associated action priorities.
- 3 Preparation of the draft final report which included the issues generated from the body of the report and a strategic framework.
- 4 After feedback from the Project Management Group, the consultants made final necessary changes to the draft report and produced the final report.

Appendix 2

Appendix 2

Indigenous violence programs listed by State, as identified for the current analysis (1998)

The following table contains a listing of all the violence programs identified by the authors during 1998 as part of the current study.

NOTE ON SYSTEM OF NUMBERING:

In compiling a searchable list of program profiles, the States have been numbered as follows:

Western Australia	1	New South Wales	5
Northern Territory	2	Australian Capital Territory	6
Queensland	3	Victoria	7
South Australia	4	Tasmania	8

Thus program profiles have been classified according to the State out of which they operate, the appropriate prefix being extended by a suffix that refers to its place in the profile list featured in Appendix 1. Therefore Western Australian programs are numbered 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 etc. Western Australian programs which were profiled are numbered with heavy type **1.1**, **1.2**, **1.3** and so on, while those identified but not profiled are numbered with normal type, eg 1.9, 1.10, 1.11 etc. This latter category of unprofiled programs were identified either from the literature or from first hand verbal information during 1998, but unfortunately, for whatever reason, the agency was not able to provide the necessary written information for the profile.

1. Programs in Western Australia

NUMBER	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
1.1	Streetwork	Geraldton	Current
1.2	Streetsport	Numerous centres	Current
1.3	Aboriginal Alternative Dispute Resolution Service	Perth	Current
1.4	Wunngagutu Patrol	Kalgoorlie	Current
1.5	Domestic Violence Prevention Unit, Perth	Various locations in WA	Beginning
1.6	Bega Garnbirringu Health Services—Domestic Violence Media Campaign	Kalgoorlie & surrounds	Current
1.7	Sobering-up Shelter Programs	10 in operation throughout WA	Current
1.7a	Halls Creek Sobering-up Shelter/Alcohol Centre	Halls Creek	Current
1.8	Aboriginal Community Education Project—Domestic Violence	regional WA	Starting
see 2.4	NPY Women's Council Domestic Violence Service	NT/WA/North SA border area	Current
1.9	Geraldton Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence program	Geraldton	Current
1.10	Geraldton Aboriginal (Yamatji) Patrol and Advocacy Program	Geraldton	Current
1.11	Domestic Violence Program (South-west Aboriginal Medical Services Corp.)	WA	Just started
1.12	Police Club Youth Centres (found elsewhere also eg Albany)	Cannington	Current
1.13	Juvenile Aid Group—City Watch (Perth City Police)	Perth	Current
1.14	Aboriginal Police Liaison Officer Scheme (previously Aboriginal Aide Scheme)		Current
1.15	Aboriginal Visitors Scheme		Current
1.16	The Wiluna Agreement—restrictions on sale of alcohol implemented by Wiluna Domestic Violence Committee, with the community, its police, its medical service and local hotel	Wiluna	Current
1.17	Thoo Thoo Wandj Aboriginal Community bush campsite for offenders	Cue	Current
1.18	Eastern Goldfields Volatile Substances Co-ordinating Committee	Laverton	Current as at mid 1997
1.20	Numbud Aboriginal Street Patrol	Derby	Current
1.21	'Homebeat' patrol	Geraldton	Current
1.22	Juvenile Action Group street patrol	Albany	Current
1.23	Back to Back police patrols	throughout WA	Current
1.24	Office of Aboriginal Health—funds programs in communities for domestic violence, petrol sniffing, alcohol abuse	Various location in WA	Current

2. Programs in the Northern Territory

NUMBER	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
2.1	Tangentyere Council, Wardens	Alice Springs	Current
2.2	Tangentyere Council—night patrol	Alice Springs	Current
2.3	Tangentyere Council, Remote Area Night Patrol Co-ordination and Training	Alice Springs	Current
2.4	Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (NPY) Women's Council Atunypa Wiru Minyma Uwankaraku (Good Protection for All Women)	NT/WA/North SA border area	Current
2.5	Julalikari Council Night Patrol	Tennant Creek	Current
2.6	Naiyu Nambiyu Community Women's Centre	Daly River	Current?
2.7	Mwerre Anetyeke Mparntwele (Sitting Down Good in Alice Springs), Tangentyere Council	Alice Springs	Current?
2.8	Ngukurr Warden Scheme, with NT Police	Ngukurr	Current in 1994
2.9	Aboriginal Family Violence Strategy —Women's Health Strategy Unit, Territory Health Services	remote communities in the Northern Territory	Current
2.9a	Nguiu Aboriginal Community Family Violence Strategy	Bathurst Island & Tiwi Island	Current
2.9b	Pularumpi Aboriginal Community Family Violence Strategy	Garden Point, Melville & Tiwi Islands	Current
2.10	CRC—Aboriginal & Islander Health & Aboriginal Congress Medical Service —Social & Emotional Well Being Centre	Alice Springs	Current
	CRC—Aboriginal & Islander Health & Danila Dilba Medical Service —Social & Emotional Well Being Centre being set up in Darwin		
2.11	Certificate III in Community Services	Northern Territory University	Current
2.12	Kalano Community Night Patrol	Katherine	Current
2.13	Barkly Health Services—various programs	Tennant Creek	Current
2.14	Preamble to the police caution		Current
2.15	Aboriginal Languages Technical Interpreter Service—OAD & Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department		On trial in 1997
2.16	Community Justice Program of Diversionary Conferencing		On trial in 1997

3. Programs in Queensland

	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
3.1	Kowanyama Justice Group	Kowanyama	Current
3.2	Palm Island Justice Group	Palm Island	Current
3.3	Pormpuraaw Justice Group	Pormpuraaw	Ended
3.4	Far North Queensland Consortium for Social and Emotional Health and Well Being—Domestic Violence Program and Mental Health Training	Cairns	Current/ Starting
3.5	Indigenous Therapies Course —Replaced We A-li	Central Queensland University, Rockhampton	Current
3.6	Mornington Shire Council —Management of Public Intoxication Program	Mornington Island	Current
3.7	Petford Training Farm (Queensland Family Services has taken over and put an administrator in to run the farm pending outcome of independent investigation)	170 km south-west of Cairns	Current —but future is in doubt.
3.8	Youth & Community Combined Action Program (YACCA) Neighbourhood Youth Programs	throughout Qld	Current
3.8a	Neighbourhood Youth Programs [Youth & Community Combined Action (YACCA)]	Mt Isa	Current
3.8b	Murgon/Cherbourg YACCA project	Murgon/Cherbourg	Current
3.8c	Palm Island YACCA project	Palm Island	Current
3.8d	Aurukun YACCA Project	Aurukun	Current
3.9	Family Violence Advocacy Project —Apunipima Cape York Health Council	Cape York Peninsula	Current
3.10	QLD Government Youth Suicide Prevention Project	communities in North Queensland, particularly Palm, Mornington Is and Normanton	Current/ Starting
3.11	QLD Government Self Harm and Substance Abuse Prevention Pilot Program	various communities, including Napranum, Injinoo, Lockhart River and Aurukun	Current
3.12	Life Promotion Project—QLD Health —Mental Health	Yarrabah, Hope Vale and Wujal Wujal.	Current
3.13	Indigenous Suicide Prevention Project —QLD Health ATSI Health Unit	Mt Isa, Mackay, Dalby & Palm Island	Current
3.14	GubaDangka Aboriginal Corporation —Indigenous Therapy	Mornington Is	Current
3.15	24hr Shelter—Yarrabah Women's Resource Centre	Yarrabah	Current
3.16	Indigenous Advisory Council Local Justice Initiatives Program, Community Workshops	Hopevale, Yarrabah, Palm Island	Current
3.17	Tropical Public Health Unit —Injury prevention, alcohol and family violence, alcohol abuse reduction strategy, consultation processes	Cairns, Cape York	Current

3.18	We Al-li	Rockhampton	Ended
3.19	Mornington Shire Council— Community Justice Group, Community Support Worker	Mornington Island	Current
3.20	Jura Kosker Sorority	Thursday Island	Current
3.21	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mentoring	Logan City, Brisbane	Current
3.22	Murri Night Owl Project	Logan City, Brisbane	Current
3.23	Bunjies	Logan City, Brisbane	Current
3.24	Kootana Community Women's Centre	Palm Island	Uncertain
3.25	'Ending Offending' & Family Healing' programs run in prisons	Queensland prisons	Current/ Starting

4. Programs in South Australia.

	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
see 2.4	NPY Women's Council Domestic Violence Service	NT/WA/North SA border area	Current
4.1	Domestic Violence Counselling Service [Nunakuwarrin Yunti—Aboriginal Health Service]	SA	Current
4.2	Sobriety Group [Nunakuwarrin Yunt—Aboriginal Health Service]	SA	Current
4.3	Drug & Alcohol Council programs		Current
4.4	Youth Health Agency		Current

5. Programs in New South Wales

	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
5.1	Women Out West (project of the Women's Legal Resources Centre) legal advice on domestic violence issues and violence protection orders	west of NSW	Finished
5.2	NSW Domestic Violence Advocacy Services (DVAS) Womens Legal Resources Centre— Indigenous Women's Program	Forbes, Condobolin, Queanbeyan, mid-north coast and New England areas	Running
5.3	Community Justice Centres	throughout NSW	Current
5.4	Support of Aboriginal Families Project —Men's Anti-violence Program (Koori Mend group)	Lismore	Current
5.5	Women's Grants Program—Dept. of Women	NSW	Current
5.6	Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council	NSW	Just starting
5.7	Coffs Harbour Aboriginal Family Community Centre	Coffs Harbour	Current
5.8	Streetwise Crime Prevention Comic	across NSW	Current

5.9	South Sydney Youth Services: Koori Justice Program	Sydney, NSW	Current
5.10	Bollaway Community Services Aboriginal Corporation: Employment of Aboriginal Community Liaison Officer	Bollaway	Completed
5.11	Community Youth Justice Conferencing Scheme—NSW Juvenile Justice Department	NSW	Current
5.12	Aboriginal Mentor Program—Department of Juvenile Justice NSW	NSW	Current
5.13a	Women's night patrol	Bourke	Current
5.13b	Night patrol	Walgett	Current
5.13c	Redfern Street Beat	Redfern, Sydney	Current
5.13d	Night pick-up	Mt Druitt, Narrandera & Nowra	Current
5.14	Wombagar Customer Service Project	rural Aboriginal communities	Starting
5.15	Kempsey Education and Motivation Program (KEMP)—'Ending Offending' Program of Department of Juvenile Justice	Kempsey	Current
5.16	Sobering-up Shelters/Proclaimed Places	27 throughout NSW	Current
5.17	Cell visitor scheme	various locations	
5.18	Cultural Link Program	Broken Hill Correctional Centre	Current
5.19	Ngaimpe Project—NSW Corrective Services	Ngaimpe	
5.20	Video—Manning District Emergency Accommodation	Manning	Available
5.21	Womens Shelter	Armidale	Ended
5.22	Support for Rural Aboriginal Women—Coonamble Neighbourhood Centre	Coonamble	Current
5.23	Self-Help Reference Group—Coomealla Aboriginal Housing Company	Coomealla	Current
5.24	School Workshops—Women's Legal Resources Centre and Western District Foundation Aboriginal Corporation	various locations	Current
5.25	Yoorana Gunya Family Violence Healing Centre	Forbes	Current
5.26	Women's Culture Camps—Department of Corrective Services	various locations	Current

6. Programs in the Australian Capital Territory

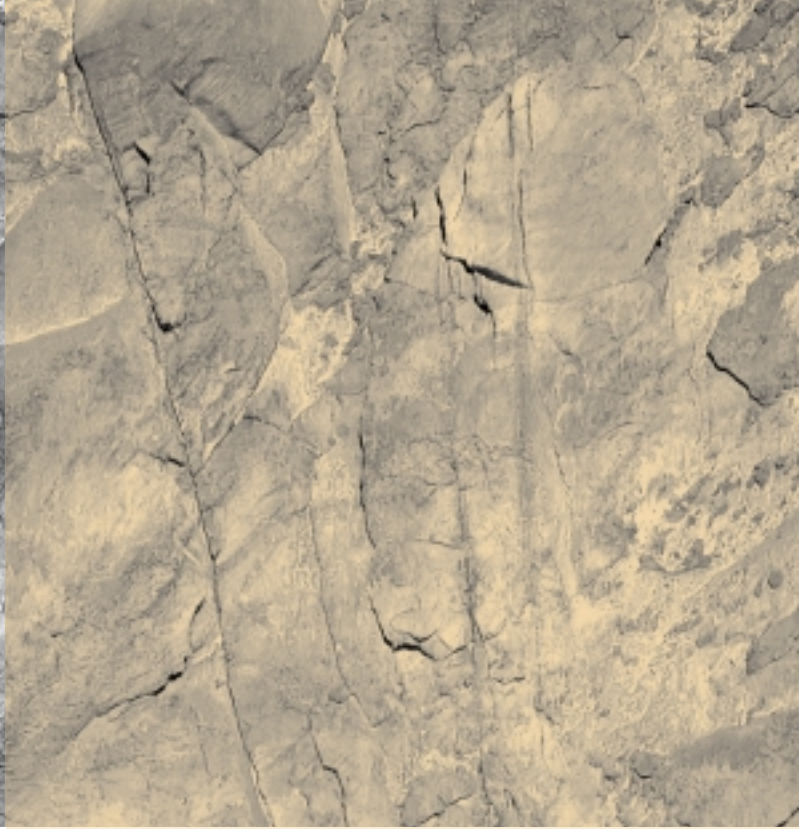
	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
6.1	Koori Camp—in assoc. Beryl Women's Refuge	Canberra	Current
6.2	Aboriginal Liaison Officer—ACT Police Service	throughout communities in ACT	Current
6.3	Domestic Violence Crisis Service—Aboriginal Outreach Worker	ACT	Starting

7. Programs in Victoria

	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
7.1	Community Justice Panels	17 throughout Victoria	Current
7.2	Sobering-Up Centres	7 throughout Victoria	Review
7.3	Koori Justice Program	Morwell, Bairnsdale, Warrnambool, Lake Tyers, Robinvale, Shepparton, Swan Hill and the Northern Metropolitan Region (Preston)	Current/ Starting
7.4	Juvenile Justice Units —Dept. of Human Services		Current
7.5	Fitzroy Aboriginal Health Service —Mental Health Programs for adolescents	Fitzroy	Current
7.6	Koori Drug & Alcohol Workers	throughout Victoria	Review
7.7	Burt Williams Hostel		
7.8	Charlotte Waites Hostel		
7.9	Family Group Conferencing (NZ Maori model)—Anglicare in Children's Court		
7.10	Broadmeadows Pilot Diversion Project (NZ model)	Swan Hill and Mildura Magistrates Court	Uncertain
7.11	Warrakoo Life Skills Unit—Residential Farm for drug abusers/offenders	situated in NSW (also take offenders from NSW & SA)	Current
7.12	Police Aboriginal Liaison Officers (ALOs)	in 47 locations throughout Victoria	Current
7.13	Prison Aboriginal Liaison Officers (in private prisons as well)	Metropolitan Assessment Prison	Current
7.14	Aboriginal Custody Support Worker —Juvenile Justice Units		Current
7.15	Community Corrections Centres —Aboriginal Offenders		Uncertain
7.16	START Sports and Activity Program for Youth	various Aboriginal organisations	Current/ Ended
7.17	Safer Cities and Shires Program —safety plans	local councils	Current

8. Programs in Tasmania

	NAME OF PROGRAM	LOCATION	CURRENT/ENDED
8.1	Aboriginal Justice Advisory Group	throughout Tasmania	to start
8.2	Support Program for inmates	Tasmanian jails	Current
8.3	Education & Training Program for inmates	Tasmanian jails	Current
8.4	Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre —Substance Abuse programs for adolescents	Tasmania	Current



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